Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-147 *1 August 1994*

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France: Russia To Support Punitive Measures

LD2907220594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2116 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Paris, July 29 (TANJUG)—A French Foreign Ministry spokesman said Friday Russia would back a proposal for punishing Bosnian Serbs at the big powers' ministerial meeting in Geneva Saturday.

Spokesman Catherine Colonna was quoting a telephone conversation Thursday between French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe and his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev. She said Kozyrev had confirmed his attendance at the ministerial meeting of the big powers' contact group for Bosnia and agreed with Juppe on the need for a show of firmness unless the Bosnian Serbs altered their stance.

The Bosnian Serb national assembly Thursday reaffirmed its July 19 declaration, adopted in response to the contact group's division plan, urging for further talks and a clarification of some vague points, specifically those regarding constitutional arrangements. The West has, however, taken this to mean rejection of the plan, devised by the contact group which comprises Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany.

Colonna said punitive measures would include a tightening of United Nations sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro. A U.N. resolution to this effect has been drafted and may soon be submitted to the Security Council for approval, she added. She did not elaborate, saying only there would be more economic and financial sanctions.

Another measure would be turning U.N.-designated Moslem "safe havens" in Bosnia-Herzegovina into heavy weaponry exclusion zones on the lines of Gorazde and Sarajevo, but this would be done at a later date as it requires additional preparations, she said. Bosnian Moslems' exemption from a U.N. arms ban, which is in force against all of former Yugoslavia, will be considered only as a last resort, she added.

Kozyrev Visit Seen as Support for Milosevic

LD3107174394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Geneva, July 31 (TANJUG)—Circles close to the Russian mission to the United Nations in Geneva interpret Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Belgrade on Sunday as a gesture of support.

Kozyrev will demonstrate support to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and his appeal to Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina to accept the Contact Group peace plan, sources close to the Russian mission said. He accepted the communique of the Contact Group meeting in Geneva on Saturday in order to avoid the opening of the most sensitive issue at the U.N. Security Council—the exemption of Bosnian Moslems from the arms embargo on former Yugoslavia, they said.

Kozyrev did this even though the plan mentions the possibility of introducing new sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the sources said.

The Russian foreign minister managed to secure a significant time-out in Geneva, giving Bosnian Serbs time to change their negative decision, even though he was exposed to pressures, primarily from the United States, the diplomatic circles said.

It is a question how much longer Russia will be able to prevent the placing on the agenda of the issue of the exemption of Bosnian Moslems from the embargo on arms sales in former Yugoslavia, on which the U.S. insists, the sources said.

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Government 'Condemns' 'Absurd' Greek Policy

AU2907192694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The Albanian Government has learned that the Greek Government, while instructing its ambassador in Tirana to notify the Albanian party that Greece has consented to European Union [EU] aid for the balance of payments of Albania, reinstated its veto to freeze this aid.

Thanking those European countries that expressed themselves in favor of granting this aid to Albania, the Albanian Government condemns the act of the Greek Government, considering it as completely useless and founded on falsifications and untruths.

By doing so, and abusing its membership in the EU, Greece is challenging the Brussels decision and proving that in its policy toward its neighbors the primary interest of Greek nationalism is not cooperation, but the contrary.

The Albanian Government declares once again that it is determined to resolve, through dialogue, all the problems with Greece and not to condition this dialogue by the absurd Greek stance in the EU. The government is also most determined to apply all the agreements that it has signed with the EU, the IMF, and the World Bank.

Editorial Views U.S. as 'Champion of Peace'

AU3007135194 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 23 Jul 94 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Perry's Visit, a Peace Mission"]

[Text] "I am the first U.S. defense secretary to set foot on free Albanian soil"—U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry said greeting the students of the Military Academy of Land Forces.

But there is more than that: Mr. Perry is the highest-ranking U.S. dignitary to visit Albania since the restoration of democracy. It is also another reason why his visit is being described as historic.

Regarding Mr. Perry's visit not only to Albania, but also to other countries of the region, the first thing that caught one's attention was that he devoted very little time to the army, the military in general, or the war. Even when speaking about war, he treated it only in terms of how to stop it.

The visit by the U.S. defense secretary to the Balkans, near the hotbed of conflict erupting in former Yugoslavia, had as its main objective finding the means to put an end to it, and first of all not to allow it to spread to other parts of the Balkan peninsula. This was the main topic of the discussions that he held in these countries. What did Mr. Perry propose in terms of achieving his visit's ends?

It is natural to expect an army commander in chief to give precedence to military matters over other activities. Thus, in this case, one could have expected Mr. Perry, as commander in chief of the Pentagon, during his visits to these countries, on his Balkan mission, to speak of boosting the number of armed forces, of enhancing military arsenals, and so on.

However, Mr. Perry's preferred "weapon" this time was cooperation, and not only military cooperation, among all the countries of the region, beginning with Bulgaria and Romania and ending with Turkey and Greece, including naturally Albania.

In Albania also, in his speeches and discussions, the U.S. secretary of defense paid much more attention to peace, freedom, and democracy, and he pointed out: "These are not only the foundations of the Unite States, but also of the new Albania." When speaking about the progress, reorganization, and modernization of the Albanian Army, he placed it within the context of serving democracy and freedom, under a civilian leadership.

While underscoring on the one hand Albania's need for assistance, and on the other hand the determination of the United States always to be close at its side in the process of repairing the damage inflicted by the dictatorship, Mr. Perry hailed the heroic struggle of the Albanian people, not forgetting to point out that this struggle had served peace. In this respect he described our people's sacrifices as sacrifices for the cause of peace, and an excellent example for the world.

"For this, the United States thanks you, and holding aloft the torch of freedom, Albania will secure a bright future. We are friends of Albania in peace, democracy, and freedom."

This was Mr. Perry's message to the Albanian people. The fact that this message comes from the number one of the U.S. Army is a simple episode, indicating that the world's military superpower is the greatest champion of peace.

Commentary on Clinton Declaration on Albania

AU3107144694 Tirana BALLI I KOMBIT in Albanian 28 Jul 94 p 8

[Commentary by Fatmir Agalliu: "A Repeated Declaration"]

[Text] During his visit to Albania, the U.S. secretary of defense conveyed a declaration by President Bill Clinton in support of Albania's independence. Such a declaration, made by the top-ranking official of the greatest power in the world today, assumes special significance. During the obscure years of dictatorship, when our country became completely self-isolated, opposing almost the entire world, Albanian patriots both inside and outside Albania anxiously followed the dangers menacing their homeland as a result of that policy. At that time, this great power's declarations in support of Albania's independence, made by the U.S. State Department on the occasion of Flag Day and broadcast by the Voice of America, warmed the hearts of our tormented people, reminding them that President Wilson's spirit was still alive.

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Now that Albania has shaken off the isolation and is a member of the CSCE, has joined the Atlantic alliance through the Partnership for Peace, 82 years after the proclamation of its independence and 74 years after its final recognition by the great powers, almost 40 years after its admission as a member of the United Nations, we can safely say that this repeated declaration makes us think and reflect in many respects. Now quite naturally a dilemma arises: Is it true that Albania's independence in the U.S. vision appears to be in danger, or are we dealing here only with a diplomatic action? If the first alternative is true, then the Albanians' concern must be great. This U.S. President's declaration would be totally justified in the case of Croatia or Slovenia, which have just been created as independent states, or the Baltic states that have just regained their independence lost 54 years ago. Under the current conditions, a declaration like this regarding such states as Bulgaria or Romania would greatly shock the Bulgarians and Romanians. If the second alternative of a diplomatic action is true, then we Albanians, living in a compact territory, but divided in two, would feel a bitter disappointment. This would be tantamount to telling us: "Enjoy this Albania you have, and stop asking for what you already have." However, the reason for the content of President Clinton's message could be mere diplomatic routine, its being taken from locked drawers, that make the message to be viewed as archaic and surprising, if not as madness. As far as the great powers' diplomacy is concerned, in communicating with small countries, the telephone line often works only one way. However, the Albanian Government confronted with such attitudes must draw the necessary conclusions, always bearing in mind that in the last analysis the political fate of Albania will be determined mainly by the Albanians themselves. The Albanian nationalist and genuine patriotic forces have, since the time of the League of Prizren and onwards, witnessed and faced with endless sacrifices the threats to the Albanian nation by its ancient enemies, whose predatory aims, as it is still obvious today, remained unchanged. As for the declarations of the great powers, they must always be analyzed with the greatest attention in their tactical aspect. As the simmering situation in the Balkans is showing today, it would be worth remembering the Latin maxim that goes: "Quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi," meaning: "What is allowed to God is not allowed to the ox."

Commentary Regards Zhulali-Perry News Conference

AU0108082294 Tirana DITA INFORMACION in Albanian 24 Jul 94 p 3

[Commentary by Engjeli Serjani: "Situation Described as Dangerous, Enthusiasm Not Lacking. From Perry-Zhulali News Conference (Military Aid, but not Arms?!)"]

[Text] It is true that last Thursday morning [21 July], Perry and [Defense Minister Safet] Zhulali spent 25 minutes with journalists, but the actual news conference only lasted a few minutes. Half of the time was used up by their interpreter in military uniform, the first time in the history of news conferences that a man in military uniform has been translating, half of the remaining half or even less went on a survey given by our defense minister, Zhulali, and the other half of the half or even less was devoted to a review by U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry. The time that the journalists had at their disposal, by simple mathematics, effectively amounted to: "a little less plus little less." [sentence as published] Within this short period there were only three questions and three answers.

However, through the declarations of the two high-ranking military dignitaries, a new "breeze" was felt in military cooperation between the two countries. Initially Zhulali's declaration that Perry's visit was "historic" was regarded as euphoric, but Perry's assessment of the military reform in Albania as "the most advanced reform in the former communist countries" highlighted a sort of U.S. priority given to Albania, at least in the field of propaganda. As far as U.S. aid to the Albanian Army is concerned, both speakers stressed: "It is a supportive aid package, not a military one, that we are speaking about, which will grow in the future." However, if we refer to GAZETA SHQIPTARE of 22 July, it means that, apart from trucks, ambulances, shoes, and other supplies, this package also includes spares for aircraft, and it is well known that the Army does not use transport planes but military aircraft.

Given that Perry's visit took place within the framework of his trip to seven countries in Europe' hottest region, regardless of the pecking order (Bucharest, Sofia, Athens, Skopje, etc.), as such details do not always reflect the real importance to U.S. diplomacy or the degree of its interests, the U.S. concern about the danger of increasing tensions was quite evident. Not only Albania's geostrategic position, but also the massive presence of ethnic Albanian populations in southern Serbia, Kosova, Montenegro, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] present the danger of the Bosnian conflict spreading through the southern Balkans. Not only at the joint news conference, but also during his visit to the "Skenderbeg" Military Academy and at his meeting with President Berisha, the top-ranking U.S. military leader described the situation in Bosnia as "extremely dangerous" and expressed his disappointment over the fate of the "peace plan" after the negative Serbian response to it. Further on, Perry delegated the right to predict events to the "Contact Group." The "Contact Group," he added, "will meet next week; therefore any answer would be premature." Thus, it will be the foreign ministers of the Contact Group who will determine the new stance following the Serbs' rejection. The U.S. defense secretary described his inspection of the maneuvers carried by the reconnaissance battalion as the "climax" of his still unfinished tour.

"Reconnaissance forces in war are always at the forefront," he said, "and reconnaissance troops are the first to lead to the fulfillment of the cooperation program." Here, Mr. Perry must have had in mind not only that the exercises that he was observing were led by army officers such as Agron Hima, who has a diploma from the U.S. reconnaissance forces in Georgia in the United States, but also the problem of two spy planes, which, as was said some time ago, are stationed at one of Albania's military airfields.

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Referring to the prospects of military cooperation between the two countries, Perry highlighted the possibilities of carrying out joint military exercises and maneuvers. In the meantime the Albanian side, at all meetings and discussions, will insist on Albania's earliest admission to NATO through intensifying cooperation within the framework of the Partnership for Peace. It has been persevering in repeating the slogan: "We are a special case."

The U.S. defense secretary greatly appreciated his meeting with President Berisha, as was cleverly indicated when he declared to the journalists: "I will convey his assessments of the situation to President Clinton."

However, many problems remain in the dark, since that was the moment when the journalists were thanked and told that the news conference was over, even though most of them had their hands up, asking to put questions.

Everything that was said at this news conference, could be summarized as follows: dangerous situation, great enthusiasm.

Party Requests Nano Release, 'Early Elections'

AU3007160094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The final verdict on the Nano case was the central point of today's news conference held by the Socialist Party [PS]. Let us hear from our correspondent Timo Luto:

[Luto] PS Deputy Chairmen Servet Pellumbi and Luan Hajdaraga held a news conference at the PS headquarters at noon today to express the PS stance following the final verdict on the case of PS Chairman Fatos Nano.

PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi first read the PS statement regarding the verdict on the Nano case. This statement, too, considers the charges and arrest of Fatos Nano as a premeditated scenario concocted by the party in power with the aim of attacking the PS and paralyzing its activity.

The statement considers Fatos Nano to be a political prisoner and a persecutee and the PS equates his defense with the defense of freedom, democracy, and human rights. The statement expresses the full conviction of the PS members and sympathizers that their leader is innocent, and declares the investigation process and trial of Fatos Nano to be an action involving serious violations of constitutional laws and judicial procedures. The statement demands that the Nano case be ended and Fatos Nano be released. The statement also reiterates the stance that Fatos Nano will remain the PS chairman and that this party will unstintingly continue its efforts to defend him.

Servet Pellumbi and Luan Hajdaraga then answered reporters' questions. The reporters asked for explanations about yesterday's demonstration in front of the Supreme Court of Appeal. The PS leaders did not take it upon themselves to have organized the demonstration, but they called it spontaneous and considered the police arrests as illegal.

They gave arguments to their demand that Fatos Nano be released at all costs, on the basis of their conviction that he is innocent.

Regarding the stance by the Interparliamentary Union, which recently examined the Nano case, they said that this union is expected to maintain a stance now, after the completion of all the three stages of Fatos Nano's trial, expressing their conviction that this international institution will unfailingly declare him a political prisoner.

They also reiterated the PS stance for early elections and its readiness to sit at the negotiating table for talks with other political forces, considering these talks as the only way to reduce political and social tensions and come out of the crisis in which our country is immersed.

These were the topics discussed in the PS news conference, which lasted 40 minutes.

Rally Supports Nano

AU3007160194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] At 1800 [1600 GMT] this afternoon in Tirana, the Socialist Party [PS] organized a rally to defend human rights and those of the opposition. The release of Fatos Nano was the focal point of the slogans and discussions at this rally. Armir Shkurti reports:

[Shkurti] Fatos Nano was arrested a year ago, precisely on 30 July 1993. On the same afternoon, in front of the Dinamo Stadium in the capital, the PS organized a rally that ended with much tension. The fact that the date of Nano's arrest coincided with yesterday's decision of the Supreme Court to leave in effect the 12-year sentence against former prime minister Nano were the focal points of the slogans and discussions at today's rally.

In the name of the rally organizers, Musa Ulqini voiced the support of the Albanian Socialists for their chairman Nano. Ulqini considered Fatos Nano's sentence to be unfair and said that this is also Europe's opinion. Mr. Musa Ulqini stated that the lack of laws and particularly the lack of a constitution has brought about infringement of human rights and freedom.

The speech given by PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi was mainly concentrated on the problem of Fatos Nano's adjudication. Mr. Pellumbi mentioned early elections as the sole alternative to change the situation in Albania.

Representatives of the Euro-Socialist Youth Forum, the Socialist Women's Forum, and the Veterans Forum greeted the rally.

All the speakers and participants at the rally expressed solidarity with PS chairman Fatos Nano. The rally lasted about 35 minutes and ended calmly.

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SDS Council Votes Confidence in Leadership

AU0108100194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 1 Aug 94

[Text] The National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is in session. This morning party representatives in the National Coordinating Council passed a vote of confidence in Filip Dimitrov, Ivan Kurtev [responsible secretary of National Coordinating Council], and Asen Agov. The vote was moved in connection with increasingly frequent attacks recently on the leadership of the SDS political party. The representatives of the Radical Democratic Party and the United Christian Democratic Center abstained from the vote. Representatives of the Democratic Party and the Federation of Independent Student Associations took no part in the council's meeting today. The meeting is expected to discuss a proposal by Stefan Sofiyanski, leader of the United Christian Democratic Center, that the SDS member parties should conclude a new political agreement.

Dimitrov Addresses Supporters

AU3007134294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Addressing supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in Sliven this evening, Filip Dimitrov spoke about the crisis in the SDS, what else has to be done to bring about early parliamentary elections, and how and with which allies the elections can be won.

The crisis of nerves in the SDS leadership is a result of the fact that, while the SDS as a whole in recent years has tried to correct the situation in the country, certain individual figures decided that it is enough to set right their own positions. The chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council announced that it can be expected that a new SDS national conference will be convened in the coming months, which will improve the union's structure by slightly decentralizing it and will give individuals without close party connections more scope for action.

A number attempts by voices in the hall to put forward a different position were met with catcalls and aroused the disapproval of the majority of the audience. Vidyo Videv, SDS deputy for Sliven, was not permitted to explain his own viewpoint.

BSP Official Comments on Party's Foreign Policy

AU3007135494 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 26 Jul 94 p 9

[Interview with Krasimir Premyanov, chairman of the Commission on International Relations, Foreign Policy, and National Security under the BSP Supreme Party Council, by Rozalina Evdokimova; place and date not given: "Under the New Conditions the BSP Is Capable of Conducting an Effective Foreign Policy"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Evdokimova] You have already said that the commission over which you preside is striving to develop a doctrine that should apply not to the foreign political relations of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], but to those of the country as a whole. Is this not rather too ambitious a project?

[Premyanov] We have already gained valuable experience in promoting our defense doctrine. It was our goal to introduce it as a topical subject on our political agenda and gradually to establish it as a permanent issue. I think that an valuable incentive has already been created and the defense doctrine has positive prospects of development in our country. The same applies to the foreign policy doctrine. It is our intention to work on it, to analyze its trends, to study the experience of other countries, to examine the political factors, and to promote this instrument of Bulgaria's interests. It is our intention to submit our view on how Bulgaria should carry out its foreign political activities, and on what basis and with what means it should achieve its objectives. Naturally, this is not likely to transform our own doctrine automatically into Bulgaria's overall foreign political doctrine; however, it can introduce our doctrine into political life and promote it as a guide for others. Let us hope that it may serve as the initial phase of establishing a permanent, basic consensus, which is what we are talking about.

[Evdokimova] As far as the internal party aspect is concerned, will you be able to project the image of the BSP to the world, so to speak?

[Premyanov] Our party's international relations have produced extensive contacts with many political forces of various ideological and social orientations. In this respect it is not correct to speak about our party's "isolation." This is a forcibly imposed concept, which is the product of somebody's imagination. [passage omitted]

[Evdokimova] National security is one aspect of your activities. What should be the main issue of national security policy in your view? Should it be based on flexibility, or on forcible solutions?

[Premyanov] I think that it is absolutely unacceptable, even for the most powerful states, to use diktat and force as a means of settling conflicts and of imposing their will. We shall clearly adhere to the clauses of international law that have always been adopted and applied in any specific models whatsoever. Bulgaria must conform to the uncompromising interpretation of principles, such as equal rights, mutual advantage, respect for territorial integrity and inviolability, and peace in general and as an instrument for settling conflicts. I think that the BSP should also apply such principles to its own foreign policy activities and to its evaluation of them.

[Evdokimova] Recently, our neighbor Turkey has become a source of fear for the Bulgarian people. They

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consider Turkey as a major threat to our national security. What role are Bulgarian-Turkish relations expected to play in the BSP's policy?

[Premyanov] Turkey is a reality and no one should underestimate or neglect it as a factor in the Balkans. I am convinced that a model of relations with Turkey likely to guarantee mutual advantage and mutual interests on an equal basis should be applied in relations with Turkey, because the use of force is not the most acceptable formula for imposing one's will upon others. As long as our economic relations with Turkey are based on inequality, either of the two could prevail over the other through its direct influence. Hence, we should try to preserve our independence and observe the principle of mutual advantage applying to both countries. The case with Turkey is the same as with all other states. Bulgaria should not get involved in permanent commitments to any external factors likely to make it dependent on their interests. Great flexibility, tactical skill, and great political wisdom are required to find the best model for Bulgaria's foreign political problems, while preserving its independence and respecting the will of the people.

[Evdokimova] Can you describe the priority issues that your commission should work upon, according to your proposals?

[Premyanov] The BSP thinks that the first is to work out methods of doing away with crime. We also intend to develop our stand on Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] and to introduce new principles on this issue in the Balkans. We shall propose the most civilized approach in dealing with the issue, which should be most advantageous for Bulgaria at the same time. [passage omitted]

'New Choice' Political Alliance Plans Described

AU0108122694 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 29 Jul 94 p 2

[Report by Galya Nikolova]

[Text] Sofia—Yesterday Ivan Anev and Dimitur Ludzhev, the leaders of the Assembly for Democracy [SD] and the New Policy Center, announced the formation of the New Choice political alliance. At the start of September a parliamentary group with the same name, consisting of the representatives of the two parties, will be registered in the National Assembly. Dimitur Ludzhev and Ivan Pushkarov will be cochairmen of the new alliance, with Ruslan Semerdzhiev and Stefan Bozhilov serving as their deputies.

The new coalition's main political body is the Consultative Council, the chairmanship of which will rotate every six months, being held by the leaders of the two parties in turn. A Council of Coordinators will oversee the alliance's election campaign headquarters. At the local level the two organizations will retain their political independence.

New Choice claims to be a party of the middle class. According to Ivan Pushkarov, it is impossible to have a left-wing platform for the transition to a market economy. In his words, the only way to govern the country at this difficult juncture is to conclude a national agreement. Only coalition governments are possible, based on goals defined in a program and with broad public control of their work, he added. In his and Ludzhev's view, the main mistake that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] made was to abdicate from achieving the end goals of the reform in the 1991-92 period.

The two leaders envision the formation of a new parliamentary majority excluding extreme blue [SDS] and red [Bulgarian Socialist Party] members. "In September, New Choice will raise the question of the government," Dimitur Ludzhev said.

Social Democracy Alliance Plans Autumn Strategy

AU3007134494 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Jul 94 p 12

["Abridged Version" of Declaration published by the Alliance For Social Democracy adopted in Sofia on 16 July 1994: "Political Autumn 1994"]

[Text] 1. The question of how to change the course of the current trends in reforming our society is the crucial issue today. The question is how to make the reform work in the interest of the majority of the people rather than serving the interests of a corrupt clique of shady businessmen and of a restricted circle of people who are striving for the restitution of their former property and power.

The coming political autumn is likely to confront us with new elections. Early elections are supposed to rescue the country from a desperate situation. Nevertheless it is not likely to happen, because the necessary political prerequisites are missing. No strong center-left majority capable of giving an impetus to the development of the reform in a new direct, exists as yet....

2. Today the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] should unequivocally commit itself to a responsble national policy. It should encompass all three major trends of the reform, namely political, economic, and cultural activities.

The BSP should try to attract the broadest possible strata of society and of the political forces in the struggle for a truly democratic development of the reform, so as to achieve the following results:

—The dangerous crime rate should be banned; guarantees for the safety of our citzens and for safeguarding their human rights against corrupt authorities should be provided through the application of the Constitution and the observance of democratic legislation;

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—the conditions should be created for the establishment of a competitive market economy based on social justice and for the regulation of the market processes on the basis of law and order, so as to encourage real competition, to revive the economy, to create jobs for all able-bodied citizens, and to protect the underprivileged strata of our society;

—conditions should be created for the preservation and development of Bulgarian intellectual values and Bulgarian culture with nationwide assistance, with the help of state subsidies, and also through urgently adopted legislation likely to determine the minimal share of the necessary state subsidies to be granted for this purpose.

Such a policy can only be promoted by a broad center-left majority in our society and in parliament. Elections only make sense as long as they guarantee the establishment of such a majority.

Hence, the BSP should, as soon as possible, take the necessary steps for a political agreement and for opening up to the political center. Such steps should be accomplished before, rather than after the elections. Numerous opportunities for broader coalitions were missed during the recent partial elections for local government organs. The BSP should revise its policy in this respect.

It is necessary to develop a comprehensive coalition policy. Even in the case of positive election results for the BSP, the party should propose a coalition. If the election results should favor the bipolar system, the BSP should also envisage a coalition with various political forces on the basis of the national interests.

It is absolutely essential to support the efforts of the present government in pursuing the privatization policy, in stabilizing the state's finances, and in achieving economic revival, while curtailing price speculation. Urgent, energetic actions are necessary to consolidate confidence in the national currency, to restrict inflation, and to strengthen the monetary-credit system. It is also absolutely essential to restore land property so as to guarantee the development of modern and effective agricultural production.

The BSP should strive for a sincere dialogue with the different trade union movements in order to intensify its efforts to protect workers' social and trade union rights, as well as the rights of civil servants and state employees, but in particular the rights of those employed in the private sector, in accordance with labor legislation.

3. To consolidate its position as a basic factor of national policy on a broad public basis, the BSP should finally and resolutely part with its totalitarian past, with the memories of "real socialism," and decisively distance itself from the dogmatic Marxist-Leninist nucleus.

The Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] was formed over three years ago as a movement for rallying all forces striving for a social democratic system as the basis of future Bulgaria....

This essential OSD policy is no less topical today. In view of the current needs of our society, this policy is guided by the aspiration of definitely improving our people's lives, even if this improvement might only be a slight one for the time being, but at least to introduce some hope of optimism in the future outlook of every family in our country....

4. The OSD today once more declares that the policy of national consensus on the basis of non-confrontation can be the only means of rescuing Bulgaria. The principles of social welfare and the new theoretical developments of a modern social democracy are the basis on which the BSP shall implement this policy....

Should the BSP leadership be convinced that social democracy is not the correct line to be followed, it should publicly declare so and openly assume the responsibility for the policy that it is pursuing....

In that case, the OSD would face the question to what extent it can share responsibility for the policy pursued by the BSP leadership. We would be confronted with the necessity of clearly and definitely distancing ourselves from a policy and from actions that are drawing the BSP back into the past and impeding the country's democratic development.

National Assembly Begins Summer Recess

AU2907180794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Today the National Assembly began its summer vacation. Today, for all practical purposes, parliament held no plenary session. The debate on putting to the top of today's agenda the motion for a moratorium on the pensioning off of Army officers, proposed by Deputies Miroslav Durmov and Nikolay Dobrev, led to a series of recesses, and eventually the session was closed owing to the lack of a quorum. The parliamentary groups held an intensive discussion on filling the quota of National Assembly deputies in the Supreme Judicial Council, but the debate on this issue was also adjourned until the National Assembly's next session, which will commence with meetings of parliamentary commissions on 1 September. Parliament will hold its first plenary session on 7 September.

National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov announced the registration of the New Choice parliamentary group, which consists of a coalition of members of the New Policy Center and the Assembly for Democracy, who are united in their support of liberal ideas and practices. Dimitur Ludzhev and Ivan Pushkarov are co-chairmen of New Choice. The departure of five members has led to the breakup of the small Independence parliamentary group. In an application to the chairman of the National Assembly, Deputy Georgi Markov declared that he was returning to the SDS parliamentary group.

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'Signs of Panic' Over Bread Shortage, Price Rise

AU2907171294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 27 Jul 94 p 45

[Commentary by Krasimir Tsigularov: "The Price of Bread"]

[Text] The two weeks of rain in July have destroyed all expectations of a good grain harvest. Hopes that 1.5 million tonnes would be left for export have proved fruitless. What is more, we will have to import high-grade wheat to cover bread supplies until the next harvest. However, the peasant farmers and ordinary people will again be the most seriously affected because, after cooking oil and meat almost disappeared from the market place, the same thing is about to happen with bread. All this is happening in a country that has lived from agriculture for thousands of years and in which experts warned months ago of such a danger.

The state institutions responsible for providing Bulgaria with bread are already showing signs of panic. After dragging out the agrarian reform and failing to provide normal conditions for agricultural work, the Ministry of Agriculture wants to cover up its own failure by changing the standards. However, yet again only speculators and people close to those in power will benefit from the chaotic measures that are emerging.

Unless the state institutions act in coordination and adopt well-considered measures, the situation cannot be brought under control and bread will become even more expensive. Looking at the situation realistically, when calculating the bread price one should also take account of a resignation—that of [Agriculture Minister] Georgi Tanev.

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Dlouhy on Senate, ODA, Relations With ODS

AU2907182694 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 23 Jul 94 p 7

[Interview with Vladimir Dlouhy, Czech Minister of Industry and Trade and deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance, by Jiri Leschtina and Petr Novacek; place and date not given: "The Civic Democratic Alliance Has Been Blocking the Temporary Senate Because of Its Own Interests"]

[Text] In the past few months, Vladimir Dlouhy, Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] deputy chairman, has only occasionally expressed his opinion on subjects that go beyond the horizon of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. His conspicuous silence in political discussions and skirmishes has led some of the minister's party colleagues to believe that he is abstaining from risky debates so as not to risk his reputation as the most popular politician in the country.

"It is interesting that some time ago I was being accused, in the same indirect manner, of making myself excessively visible in the mass media and taking stances too often," Vladimir Dlouhy says. "Anyway, I admit that I try to work as a politician who realizes that his main task is to run his ministry. Matters slightly different from economic ones have begun to set our political life in motion today. When solving industry and trade problems, which are often very complicated, it is sometimes quite difficult for me to take an unequivocal opinion on certain political issues.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] However, you are also deputy chairman of the second-strongest party in the country. Do you think that at least the ODA voters should know your stance when a political dispute comes to a head?

[Dlouhy] As an ODA member, I have to fight for my opinions, particularly within the party, and try to assert them as ODA policy. I do not believe, however, that the public expects a stance from me on each and every political issue. Moreover, with the exception of the senate issue and the problem of the higher administrative units, there have been no political problems recently that deserve to be treated as fundamental ones.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What standpoint have you adopted today on the problem of filling the senate?

[Dlouhy] I believe that, for a young state like the Czech Republic, it would be quite dangerous not to respect the establishment of the senate, which the current government coalition has put into the Constitution. I refuse to discuss whether this happened on the basis of some political compromises. We should have thought it over at the time. On the other hand, I reproach myself and ODA for not being able to make the idea of a senate sufficiently popular among the public. Of course, this also applies to the issue of higher administrative units. It is quite problematic to push stubbornly for issues the necessity of which we have been unable to convince the public about.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Do you believe that the best way to show that we need a senate would be a functioning temporary senate, the filling of which by federal deputies has been blocked in the Czech Republic's parliament precisely by ODA?

[Dlouhy] Look, we were not in a good situation then. ODA did not make it into the federal parliament, and it was a close shave for ODA to get into the Czech National Council. Among other things, we had a political interest in not letting the transfer of the deputies take place. Not to mention that the transfer of deputies from the Federal Assembly to a body to which they had not been elected was not absolutely pure from the legal and other points of view.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Because you have prevented the temporary senate prescribed in the Constitution from being filled, is it somewhat dishonest to blame those who are not rushing to fill it now?

[Dlouhy] I believe that, at the time, ODA had the right to do this within the framework of the rules of the political game, as it now has the right to fight for the senate mentioned in the Constitution. There is nothing dishonest about this.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] In your opinion, was it necessary to create such tension in the government when the law on higher administrative units was being approved?

[Dlouhy] This tension was caused by the lack of political decorum within the ODS, and the remainder of the coalition had simply to adopt a fundamental stance. Let us hope that Vaclav Klaus has learned the lesson that, in the future, he cannot treat his coalition partners as he did in the case of the higher administrative units. You can criticize [ODA Chairman] Kalvoda's material on territorial reform, but you have to put it on the government's agenda. You cannot keep it in your desk from July of last year until December, as the prime minister did.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What is your opinion of the statement by ODA Deputy Chairman Karel Ledvinka, who indirectly invited the opposition to call for a no-confidence vote in the government if the Cabinet did not present a bill on higher administrative units by 30 June?

[Dlouhy] I do not agree with any statement by anyone from ODA in which he would call, in any way, for a vote of no-confidence in the government. During internal ODA meetings, I have clearly shown several times that I do not consider the situation surrounding the bill on higher administrative units to be so acute as to make us risk the most precious thing this country has—the political stability of the coalition.

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[MLADA FRONTA DNES] You have repeated several times that the ODS has been, and will always be, the most natural partner for ODA. However, today the situation often looks as if ODA and the ODS were the greatest political adversaries. What is the reason for this?

[Dlouhy] First, I would like to say that I stick to my statement. The ODS, as a civic party, should really be closer to us than, for example, Christian parties, who have to lay a different stress on social issues, have different views on some aspects of the agrarian policy, etc. The problem is that the ODS, particularly Vaclav Klaus, are able to exert enormous pressure behind the political scenes. The ODS hates making concessions and behaves as if it had received more than 50 percent of the vote in the elections. On the other hand, we are unable to react efficiently to this pressure behind the scenes, and we prefer to publish our objections to the ODS in the press, sometimes in a way that may really destabilize the coalition. However, this is quite counterproductive from the point of view of getting our opinions across.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Not long ago, ODA press spokesman Rozanek wrote regarding the ODS in LIDOVE NOVINY that "at present, the ODS's contribution to transformation, conservatism, and right-wing orientation is zero or even negative." Do you agree with the opinion of the spokesman of your party?

[Dlouhy] I am not of the opinion that we should write essays on how much the ODS has deviated from its election program and to label it in any way. I may have critical objections to the ODS's policy. But we can pass judgment on its conservatism or right-wing orientation only when we become, on the basis of the election results, a party that has the same responsibility for the state as the ODS now has.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Some time ago you said that it would be in the interest of this state if the ODS and ODA were to emerge as a strong rightist party. Are you still of this opinion?

[Dlouhy] Nothing like that is in the offing for the time being. I am well aware of what the people from the ODS and ODA have jointly accomplished on economic reform. In this sphere, we have always been close to each other, which no one has questioned yet. The next elections will depend, to a much greater extent, on noneconomic problems, such as the health-care system, education, the judicial system, the crime rate, security, and so on. We differ here, and this is a good enough reason for having two civic parties for the time being.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] As the proposer of the material on the privatization of the petrochemical industry, you must certainly have an opinion on the recent statement by ODA Chairman Daniel Kroupa, who has publicly indicated that there could be "links between Chemapol and some involved politicians."

[Dlouhy] Daniel Kroupa has assured me several times that he did not mean me.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Nevertheless, does this not seem rather strange to you when one of ODA's highest officials mysteriously indicates certain links without providing specific evidence and, several days later, there is a leak of information from your ministry about your possible "silent partnership" in Chemapol?

[Dlouhy] I agree with you that this is unusual. This issue was discussed and examined in detail at ODA's most recent meetings. A lower low level of consistency in our statements, as you have indicated, is really our problem.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Could you make public your attitude toward the forced resignation of your party colleague, Tomas Jezek, as chairman of the National Property Fund?

[Dlouhy] I agreed with the attitude of Minister Skalicky—that is, that Tomas Jezek should leave the National Property Fund management. I do not feel like saying more. Tomas Jezek's reaction could follow, and everything would start anew.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] ODA deputy Ivan Masek recently said in a newspaper interview that, when the government was being formed in 1992, you demanded that ODA nominate you as deputy prime minister. You allegedly threatened not to take part in the government should this did not happen. Is that true?

[Dlouhy] I do not remember having put the issue that way. I did not at all like the interview you mention. Mr. Masek argued later on that, at the moment, he did not realize the specific impact of what he was saying. I am convinced, however, that in a properly established political party, a parliamentary deputy should not attack his own minister in that way.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Has Mr. Masek attacked you or slandered you?

[Dlouhy] He has slandered me.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] How do you feel in ODA now, two years after you met with the party fathers and founders, Daniel Kroupa and Pavel Bratinka, in a discussion about the further orientation of your party and lost the duel for the deputy chairmanship?

[Dlouhy] Experience has proved me right in many respects.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] In what sense?

[Dlouhy] With regard to my opinion that we have to become an organized and functional party that will also be present in the smaller towns and villages. The organizational structure has really improved in many respects, and ODA has become a visible political formation with 14-percent support. Particularly those ODA members who have acquired positions in executive bodies increasingly understand that our mere self-determination with respect to the ODS and spelling out the sins of the most powerful government party cannot

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be the key to our success. On the other hand, I have also learned that we have to defend our standpoints firmly in areas where we really differ from our coalition partner.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Nevertheless, tension, as well as differences in the political style between you and Daniel Kroupa, are more than perceptible. When will there be a second round of the duel?

[Dlouhy] If there is ever a dispute, it will have a completely different form and will not be headed by me. ODA has realized many things and, within the party, there is a certain process going on that will certainly lead somewhere as the parliamentary elections approach. All of this leads to a cold and sober interpretation of this 14-percent electoral support. Do we really have high quality people if we were to assume a position in the government corresponding to our support today? Will we find better people than those from the ODS, and are we going to conduct a better policy than the ODS? These questions are quite legitimate but not the question of whether Dlouhy is engaged in disputes with founder fathers.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Two years remain until the elections, but the election campaign may break out as early as next year. Do you not feel the need to speed up these processes within ODA?

[Dlouhy] To have the moral right to do so, I have to be able to take, more than before, a stance on the opinions that are setting the coalition in motion. So, watch out and see whether I will do so.

Leading Party Outlines Election Strategy

LD2907174794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The Central Election Headquarters of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] has said that the decision made by the ODS Executive Council clearly defines the scope for a possible forming of local coalitions with other political entities.

That is why the ODS will be trying to prevent the inclusion of candidates from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia or its offshoots in possible lists of candidates with the Christian Democratic Party. It will be, in particular, in smaller communities where the ODS will not stop independent candidates from joining the ODS lists of candidates, provided they stand for ODS election policies. In major cities, the party prefers only ODS candidates on the list of candidates and is training those who are standing for the posts of mayors.

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FRG Inspector Views Military Cooperation

AU2907173294 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jul 94 p 2

[TA SR report in the "In Brief" column]

[Text] Lieutenant General Hartmut Bagger, the German ground forces inspector, arrived in Trencin yesterday on a three-day working visit to the Slovak Army. The prospects for cooperation between the two countries' armies during the process of the Slovak Army's transformation into NATO structures was one of the issues discussed in his talks with Slovak Army Commander Lieutenant General Julius Humaj.

Commentary Explores Election Coalition Agreements

AU3007135294 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jul 94 p 3

[Commentary by Martin Krno: "The Circle Is Closing"]

[Text] Many wedding couples took their turn at the Levice City Hall on the afternoon of 23 July. At the same time, the engagement of DU (Democratic Union) and the National Democratic Party-New Alternative was celebrated at the local Rozkvet Hotel. Thus, the election circle is slowly closing in Slovakia. Those hesitating have only a week to submit completed lists of candidates. The first to join forces were three left-wing parties and the Greens, who formed a coalition quartet with the name Common Choice-Hope for Slovakia. According to the latest opinion poll, no synergetic effect has taken place in this instance. Today it would be difficult for anybody to determine whether it was caused by the rifts in the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia and the Green Party, the departure of the traditional, obviously older supporters of the Party of the Democratic Left for the Meciar camp or the shift toward the straightforward Jan Luptak.

The Christian Democratic Movement welcomed old friends from the Public Against Violence movement headed by former Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos, who have been growing anti-left-wing horns in recent weeks under the veil of the briefings of the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute. Three right-wing oriented parties of fellow citizens in the south of Slovakia founded, with their teeth clenched, an election bloc called "Hungarian Coalition." The Slovak National Party, which, after the talks in Zilina, took the dissidents from the Christian Social Union under its wings, intends, according to its chairman, Jan Slota, to play in the campaign on hard nationalism. So far it has been successful. The permanently arguing Romanies in eastern Slovakia cannot get their act together even now....

Let us, however, return to Levice. DU decided there that it would be the civic rather than the Christian political forces to the right of the center that would not enter the elections in a single file. The outcome of this dilemma was obvious earlier, particularly after Moklos's Democratic Party and Randa's Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen stated that they would enter the coalition with DU only according to the ratio of 2:1:1. This demand was so absurd that it seems they made this proposal well cognizant of the negative answer. It was no accident that Prime Minister Moravcik said at the briefing on this issue that he appreciates the self-confidence of the Democratic Party and will cross his fingers that it may keep it until the elections and even after them. The issue is now more of the degree to which this confidence is sound, and who from the Democratic Party or from the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen will back off from these high ambitions, sacrifice the logo of his party, and transfer to the slate of the other. The 7-percent limit for a two-member coalition to enter the National Council of the Slovak Republic is strict.

Only Luptak's Association of Workers and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, with its satellite Farmers' Party, remain to be mentioned of the political entities that have a chance of entering parliament. They have not yet published their candidate lists, but a great surprise is allegedly to be expected in the east. Who knows? I suppose former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar will lead the slate there. Thus, he would leave his party fellows central Slovakia, which he considers, also on the basis of election surveys, sufficiently safe for his movement.

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President Goncz Meets FRY President Lilic

LD2907160194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Budapest, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—On their return journey from Tripoli, following a two-day official and friendly visit to Libya, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic and members of the Yugoslav delegation—Federal Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic and Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic—had a meeting with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz in Budapest today.

The Hungarian president hosted a working lunch for the Yugoslav president and his associates. The two sides exchanged views on issues of mutual interest for the two countries.

Greeting his host Zoran Lilic said he hoped this Yugoslav-Hungarian meeting would represent a step toward improving and widening overall cooperation.

Arpad Goncz agreed with the Yugoslav president saying there was no other alternative and therefore Budapest wished that the sanctions be lifted and Yugoslavia readmitted to the international community as soon as possible. According to Goncz, Hungary unfortunately cannot do a lot for the sanctions against Yugoslavia to be lifted immediately, but it can certainly contribute to the reintegration of Yugoslavia into the CSCE and the European trends.

Presidents Lilic and Goncz and their associates analyzed in great detail the Yugoslav crisis, the Bosnian conflict, stressing the importance for this conflict to end as soon as possible, as well as bilateral relations.

One of the inevitable topics in the Yugoslav-Hungarian talks was the position of national minorities. It was said they had to represent bridges of cooperation between the two countries.

Later this evening, President Lilic and members of the Yugoslav delegation are returning to Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic on UN Sanctions

LD2907192994 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told this station that it would be grist to the mill of the adherents of the war if the United Nations were to make the sanctions against the Serbs more rigorous. Jovanovic is in Budapest for talks, along with the head of state of rump Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The Yugoslav delegation was also received by President Arpad Goncz in the government's guest house. We asked Foreign Minister Jovanovic why the Bosnian Serbs' reply was not unequivocal to the five powers Contact Group urging the peace plan:

[Begin Jovanovic recording in Serbo-Croatian fading to Hungarian translation] The truth is that the Bosnian Serbs would not be happy to give back over 20 percent of the territory conquered militarily, because then perhaps further refugees would arrive to join the 700,000 Bosnian refugees who are already in Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Kovacs Interviewed on Greater Slovak Flexibility

LD3007131494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] The Hungarian Government insists that, apart from the inviolability and penetrability of the borders, the guaranteeing of the rights of the Hungarian minorities should also figure in the basic treaties to be signed with neighboring countries. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, speaking to "Lunchtime Chronicle" [program], said that in his opinion the chances for the signing of the basic treaties have improved. One reason for this is that the attitude of Hungarian diplomacy has changed. Attila Kert interviewed Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs.

[Begin recording] [Kert] It would seem that also on the part of the partner countries, the neighboring countries, there is greater willingness to sign the basic treaties.

[Kovacs] I feel that a change has occurred, above all with the Slovak Government. Compared to the former Meciar government, the Moravcik government is showing greater interest in and readiness for agreement. They are aware of the fact that a basic treaty that unilaterally serves Slovak advantages cannot be signed; so they are seeking compromise. Last Saturday [23 July] they handed over a draft text, and the relevant main departments of the Foreign Ministry have begun to shape their opinions on it.

Our reaction has been to invite for next Tuesday the Slovak Foreign Ministry experts for a first coordination of experts.

Naturally, the involvement in this process of the Hungarian parliamentary parties is indispensable, including the opposition parties as well. The Foreign affairs Committee will set up a subcommittee that will deal explicitly with the topic of the basic treaties and the Foreign Ministry will coordinate with them. Naturally, we will involve in the coordination process the legitimate parties and organizations of the Hungarians of Slovakia, and naturally, we will also listen to the opinions of the Slovaks of Hungary.

[Kert] Is the preparation of the treaty not made difficult by the fact that in Slovakia they are preparing for elections?

[Kovacs] This danger naturally does exist. The Slovak Government can feel interested, and it seems it does feel interested, in demonstrating some kind of achievement with the improvement of Hungarian-Slovak relations. For this reason it will obviously urge the agreement and

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will show greater flexibility. But it could have a different effect as well, namely that it will think that if it makes too many gestures that its political opponents could depict in the course of the election campaign as a concession, an unprincipled concession, that could reduce the chances of the Moravcik government and the parties constituting the present government.

I am certain that the Slovak-Hungarian heads of governments' meeting planned for 5 August will give an impetus to the conclusion of the Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty, or to be more precis the discussion of the treaty. I believe that as long as no fundamental turnabout occurs in the Slovak attitude that can be seen at present, perhaps after the elections, then there is great probability that the Hungarian-Slovak Basic Treaty can be signed this Autumn.

As a matter of fact, a similar date can be assumed also in connection with the Hungarian-Romanian Basic Treaty. But I would like to stress once again: This naturally presupposes a reciprocal political will. [end recording]

Details Released on Confiscated Czech Ammunition

AU2907171794 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Jul 94 p 19

[Report by Peter Nyaradi: "Exemplary Hungarian and Czech Police Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] The some 60,000 rounds of ammunition seized at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border is indeed of Czech manufacture and was originally made for hunting guns, Czech Foreign Ministry spokesman Vit Kurfurst told MAGYAR HIRLAP on 28 July.

He said that the information so far has been acquired from two sources, namely the Hungarian police and the Czech Embassy in Budapest, and this only contains the most important details because the Hungarian police are still investigating the case. Kurfurst added that the Czech Interior Ministry had received all the available information and it is within their jurisdiction to decide whether to begin investigations of the case.

Kurfurst described cooperation between the Hungarian and Czech authorities as exemplary. [passage omitted]

Interagency Cooperation Against Terrorism

LD2907220894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The police will henceforth receive all secret service information from the National Security Office so as to help in the struggle against acts of terrorism, organized crime, and drug trafficking. This was agreed by Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze and Bela Katona, minister without portfolio in charge of secret services. The interior minister said that since the explosion at Budapest's St. Matthias Church, cooperation has been outstanding between the two bodies.

Minister on Role of Post-Cold War Intelligence

AU2907202094 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Jul 94 p 3

[Interview with Bela Katona, minister without portfolio in charge of the security services, by Karoly Lencses; place and date not given: "Let Us Not Create Another Enemy Image"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lencses] According to a statement by [former Minister] Tibor Fuzessy, the secret services may even have a role in business life and in the banking sphere. In your view, how far can your jurisdiction extend?

[Katona] The political and strategic antagonism of the major world systems has ceased to exist, so the tasks of the secret services are also changing. At the same time, secret service methods must also be employed in the fight against the spread of international terrorism, organized crime, and the arms and drugs trade.

[Lencses] Nevertheless, information gathering and counterespionage are the traditional tasks of the secret services. I again have to refer to your predecessor: He named the neighboring countries as the main targets.

[Katona] Regardless of the geographical area, we have to acquire information that is important for the country's security and the protection of our economic interests. At the same time, it is the essence of the world's political restructuring that we must not create new enemy images, although we know who is working against us because we can see the signs of it. As a matter of fact, we do not expect the government to define in which countries we need to carry out more intensive activities. The cabinet's task is to define what kind of information—which cannot be acquired from open sources—it needs to make its decisions, and to define the range of secrets that have to be kept because of national security interests.

[Lencses] However, if the government appears as a consumer who gives orders then it can easily use the secret services for its current political goals.

[Katona] It means the death of the organization if a secret service operates along political interests, because it is impossible to replace the whole staff at every change of government. As a matter of fact, I cannot imagine this government issuing such instructions, and I would not implement them, anyway. [passage omitted]

Horn, Boross on OTP Privatization, World Expo

LD3107211694 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn and former Prime Minister Peter Boross by unidentified announcer at the MTV studios in Budapest; from the "The Week" program—live]

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[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mr. Boross, your are on vacation at the moment at Lake Balaton. [passage omitted] Despite this, you have changed your bathing trunks for a suit, and on Tuesday this week you came to Budapest to criticize the Horn government in a rather severe manner. What made you do this?

[Boross] There was one concrete matter that made me do this.

[Announcer] You said that it was professionally humiliating that the Soros Foundation was buying OTP [National Savings Bank] shares at a nominal value. Why?

[Boross] Well, it is a long story. [passage omitted] Perhaps George Soros does not even know that his foundation here made a proposal and all sort of misleading statements were made in connection with this.

[Announcer] However, it has come to light since that he is very much aware of this. What is the problem?

[Boross] As one of the experts said not so long ago, OTP is the leading light in Hungary's banking system, it collects 70 percent of the population's savings. It is impossible to privatize OTP this way, especially not for the benefit of a foundation. [passage omitted]

[Horn] I think that the experts should be asked in this matter, bankers, organizations dealing with privatization. They were the ones who decided in this matter, not the government. The present government did not interfere in this matter. Incidentally, there were very many other privatizations carried out in nominal values.

[Boross] The OTP is different.

[Announcer] But two months ago you, as the government, increased the OTP's basic capital in nominal value also.

[Boross] This is a misconception, for OTP was given an owner's loan and no increase in basic capital was carried out, although the papers wrote about it as an increase of basic capital. Anyway, I ask the prime minister to deal with this matter, for this is a very peculiar case, the timing of which is also strange. There is no need to privatize OTP in this manner at the moment. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Last question, it is said that OTP is practically the domestic cash till of the budget, therefore, it is not very expedient for Mr. Soros to be a shareholder in OTP, for he will see the goings on in the Hungarian budget. What do you say to this?

[Horn] I doubt if anybody will think that the Hungarian budget is not an open case and any expert wanting to look into it can do this. I do not think, and I am not aware that the OTP would define the basic financial or budgetary processes in Hungary. The Hungarian National Bank plays a lot more important role.

[Boross] [Passage omitted] The matter can be reexamined again, however, there is no question of the government interfering in the matter. If the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] wants this, we will do it.

[Announcer] This week the government decided to cancel the World Expo in Budapest in 1996. [passage omitted] Mr. Boross, it was said just now that the HDF is worried about the investors' money. Were there any serious investors?

[Boross] There were, and mostly there would have been. [passage omitted]

[Horn] I have to say two things: Private capital did not come forward at all, the other is that interest is extremely low toward such an event everywhere. [passage omitted]

A very thorough analysis and report will be submitted to parliament in September. These calculations will show precisely what the Expo would have cost in real terms. The government was not hasty in its decision. I stress, I would have also liked the Expo. [passage omitted]

Media Expert on Legislation, Frequency Allocation

AU3107134894 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Jul 94 p 4

[Interview with Peter Molnar, media expert of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Peter B. Sos; place and date not given: "Efforts for the Media Consensus"]

[Text] The failure of the six-party coordination negotiations has to urge us to make even more efforts during the drafting of the media law in the interest of consensus, Peter Molnar, media expert of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], told NEPSZABADSAG.

[Sos] What criteria did you use to select the new media leaders?

[Molnar] As the government program states, we sought experts to head the Television and Radio who would be able to ensure the public service, politically independent, and financially transparent operation of the two institutions; who are committed to a smaller operation than the current media but operating to high standards, and who are able to rehabilitate the television and radio workers who were affected by unlawful or unfair measures. As hard legal guarantees do not exist, we did not have many candidates volunteering to undertake the leadership of the institutions until the media law is passed. In my view, it was a reassuring solution to appoint leaders who are experts accepted by the current professional organizations of television and radio.

[Sos] What are your views on the break in the six-party talks?

[Molnar] The talks were not ended successfully due to the unfortunate premature signing [of the appointment of media leaders]—actually, the SZDSZ has a number of

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times apologized to the opposition for this. The real reason was that the opposition refused to express its views on the coalition's nominees even on the last day of the coordination talks. For us, their political nominees were unacceptable. Without a law, we cannot set up a supervisory committee. Apportioning the transmitters and the channels or cross-nominating the leaders would have been a party agreement rather than a guarantee. This was completely unacceptable and would also have been unfeasible. It is a big problem that the opposition's representatives did not even participate in the hearing; however, this also means that they did not formulate any counter-arguments. The failure of the coordination certainly makes me conclude that we will have to make even more efforts in the interest of a consensus in the course of preparing the law.

[Sos] How are you preparing the coordination talks that are to begin on 1 August?

[Molnar] Our intention is to pass the law on free radio and television within a few months. From the very beginning, we would like to base the work of the codification committee that draws up the draft bill on broad professional and political coordination. In the interest of this, the directly involved expert organizations and the parliamentary parties have already received the committee's preliminary questions that are to help the talks. In addition to this, other professional organizations and institutions have been requested to send in their suggestions on the concept of the law. I emphasize that it is not a prepared text that they need to assess: The concept of the law will be formulated on the basis of their suggestions.

[Sos] What could be the difficult issues for coordination?

[Molnar] Clarifying the rights to appoint is promising to be politically difficult. However, the decisive question is what kind of radio and television system can provide the best programs for the audience. This is one of the reasons it is important, for example, that the law make it possible for the broadcasters to exchange programs on a broad scale. In my view, in the market of the electronic media, rather than thinking in terms of the duality of public service and commercial media, we should think in terms of the duality of public televisions and radios and private televisions and radios. The private companies can operate either on a business or non-profit basis, and the former can also fulfill public service tasks, especially if the law obliges them to do so.

[Sos] What are your plans regarding the privatization of the media?

[Molnar] The basic principles of awarding the frequency licenses are also laid down in the government program: The monopoly situations arising from the scarcity of frequencies immediately have to be eliminated, and a body consisting of independent experts has to be set up which will announce open bids for all broadcasting frequencies—except for the frequencies defined for the Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television. The institutional guarantees of the law will have to exclude the possibility of anyone getting a frequency in any other way but through public bids.

MSZP Parliamentary Leader on Coalition Unity

AU2907170894 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jul 94 pp 1,6

[Interview with Imre Szekeres, parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Tibor J. Keri and Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "People Cannot Be Deceived"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [NEPSZABADSAG] According to many people, you are a victim of the coalition talks because you could have had various ministerial positions, but you have to be happy with the position of parliamentary group leader.

[Szekeres] [Passage omitted] I feel that I am a winner because everyone who believes that we need a new kind of modernization has definitely won with the coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. As a result of the coalition, political stability can emerge in Hungary, which will facilitate modernization.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do you really feel that the social-liberal coalition is so stable?

[Szekeres] I do not consider this coalition social-liberal.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Then what?

[Szekeres] Socialist-free democrat, in other words, a socialist-liberal coalition. This is a governmental enterprise of two independent and autonomous political forces, which was set up without any coercion and through recognizing their own interests. Neither parties have to give up their own identity in this cooperation. Therefore, at the end of the process, we can expect the strengthening of the two independent parties, rather than their merger—which some people write about.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How homogeneous is the 209-member parliamentary group? Are you not worried that this multicolored group of deputies will end up like the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and divide into many directions in the end? Regardless of the names, many tendencies are represented in the parliamentary group—can these be coordinated, and is it at all possible to form a common will?

[Szekeres] The comparison to the MDF is not a good one. In 1990, when it came to power, it did not exist as a political party. At that time, a fledgling political party established the government and it was not able to organize itself into a party in the past four years, either. The MSZP is an existing political party and this means stability for the operation of both the government and the parliamentary group. The question of the next four years is whether the MSZP will be able to preserve itself

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and make progress. This is why I suggested that the party define itself for the long term and prepare its own program. One of the basic questions is whether to represent a liberal or a social democratic economic policy.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your view?

[Szekeres] The party has to represent political and economic freedom while—in its own interest—also representing the necessary minimum of solidarity and equality of opportunity that keeps society in a condition that allows it to develop. However, many years of research is necessary to draw up a long-term program; therefore, the party congress can only accept this in 1996 at the earliest.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Returning to the parliamentary group, you have not yet said how it is possible to keep the group together and how a common will can be achieved?

[Szekeres] The party, as well as the parliamentary group, is politically segmented. In my view, it is useful for a party to have different views on important issues as long as they can be kept in a common framework after long and difficult debates. In my view, this kind of diversity can only strengthen the party's social basis.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How well can these tendencies be kept in unity in the parliamentary group, for example in a budget debate where local interests will be strongly represented?

[Szekeres] Even if some people might leave after a while, I trust that the size of the parliamentary group will not significantly change. We have formed good internal coordination mechanisms that might be time-consuming but they ensure consensus. If this was not the case then the parliamentary group would fall apart very quickly. In our case, it will not be possible, as was the case with the previous government, for government proposals to be repeatedly bombarded with hundreds of amendment motions by the government parties' deputies. On the other hand, we have to ensure that the proposals will be discussed with the SZDSZ's coalition parliamentary group or one of its working groups. It has to be admitted that this process is very time-consuming but it speeds up the parliamentary decision-making process. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] At what points do the coalition partners still have mistrust, and if there is mistrust, in what does it manifest itself?

[Szekeres] In my view, stability can be ensured by a correct cooperation of the coalition partners, which will not be easy until trust based on experience is established—and it has not yet been established. Governing in coalition is not something easy. This is perfectly natural; there is nothing strange about it. It is difficult to work together even when the politicians of only one party start to govern. [passage omitted]

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Reportage on 50th Anniversary of Warsaw Uprising

U.S., UK, Russia Comment

LD2907213694 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpt] Respect for the armed effort of the insurgents and Poles today, for their willingness to cooperate with the nations of Europe despite the wrongs they have sufferred, is the message foreign guests will bring to Poland for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising.

[Nicholas Rey, U.S. ambassador to Poland, speaking in English with superimposed Polish translation] "Vice President Gore is coming to Warsaw mainly to pay respects to all those who struggled in the Warsaw uprising, but also to honor contemporary Poland, especially those ruling it, who have shown themselves capable of inviting not only the Americans, British, and French but also the Russians and Germans. For us Americans, this is exceptionally important because this is a symbol of the new Poland, a Poland seeking accord. We appreciate the fact that there was no desire for vengeance and that the authorities have sought to influence the nation toward work and toward looking to the future. For us Americans, this is the most important thing."

[Michael Llewelyn-Smith, ambassador of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Poland, speaking in English, with superimposed Polish translation] "The British prime minister is coming with a message that constitutes an expression of respect for the people of Warsaw and the whole of Polish society, respect for the marvellous courage they showed in 1944, and also with expressions of acknowledgement for the pride with which the Poles have shown themselves capable of rebuilding their destroyed capital after the war. This will be an expression of solidarity because British society and the government were with Poland during those days. John Major will pay respect not only to the populace of the capital but also to those who made the highest scarifice in supplying assistance to the fighters."

[Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador of Russia to Poland, speaking in Russian, with superimposed Polish translation] "We bow our heads before the heroism of those people who took part in the Warsaw Uprising. In the message from President Yeltsin, it is said that this date is also close and well known for Russians. We would like to speak not only about the past, however, but, above all, about the future. That is why the delegation that will come will include, among other things, the deputy minister of foreign affairs and the deputy minister of defense. They will be talking with the Polish authorities on the subject of future relations with Poland." [passage omitted]

Herzog Accepts Invitation

LD3007191294 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Two days before his arrival in Warsaw, German President Roman Herzog told this station that he understands the reservations of the majority of Poles concerning his participation in the ceremonies to mark the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising. However, he decided to come to Warsaw because the rejection of President Walesa's invitation would be a sin against the future of Europe, the Europe that is in the process of being united. Roman Herzog also said that the Poles need not fear any Russian-German agreement being made over their heads. [passage omitted]

German-Polish Talks Scheduled

LD0108083894 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 0823 GMT 1 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DDP/ADN)—Federal President Roman Herzog arrived in Warsaw today on a 24 hour-visit at the invitation of Polish State President Lech Walesa to attend the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising. Herzog will also hold talks with Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. [passage omitted]

Russia's Filatov Arrives

LD3107160694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1607 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 31 Jul—Sergey Filatov, head of the administration of the Russian Federation's president, arrived in the Polish capital on Sunday for the commemoration ceremonies of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising. Filatov is a personal representative of Boris Yeltsin, who explained his absence at the ceremonies as "having been invited too late by President Walesa." According to the Chancellery of the president of the Polish Republic, the invitation was sent a year ago.

As part of his visit, Yeltsin's personal envoy will hold talks with President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. According to the TASS agency, the issue of Katyn will again be on the agenda. [passage omitted]

Waldemar Kuklinski Reported Killed in Accident

LD2907222094 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The second son of Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski, Waldemar, has been killed. This unofficial news has been passed on by a highly reliable source, as PAP stresses, stating that Waldemar Kuklinski died in an accident two or three weeks ago. The Polonian daily DZIENNIK CHICAGOWSKI has meanwhile given the news that Kuklinski's son was killed in the course of last weekend. The paper, which is an organ of the emigre

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right, writes that this news comes from anonymous sources that are well informed, but it raises the caveat that it has not been able to confirm this from a second, independent source. The press spokesmen of the FBI and the CIA told PAP that, for the time being, they were not able to grant information on the subject of Kuklinski's son.

German Minority Population, Organizations, Role

94EP0077B Gdansk PRZEGLAD POLITYCZNY in Polish No 24, 1994 pp 68-71

[Article by Engelbert Mis, editor in chief of the weekly GAZETA GORNOSLASKA/OBERSCHLESSISCHE ZEITUNG: "On the Road to Normalcy"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Yet it should be stated that Opole Silesia, like few other regions anywhere else, has model social conditions for harmonious [interethnic] cooperation. The principal reason for this is its population. The ethnic population of Silesia has always lived in harmony with the ethnic Germans, Poles, and Jews. And, as for the Poles repatriated there from the former Polish eastern territory—that is, from interethnic borderlands—they, too, have become accustomed to cohabiting with the minority because they themselves used to be a minority, depending on the geographical location of their former domiciles. Thus, both they and the German minority are accustomed to "being different," open to another culture and language and often raised in mixed families. Hence, neighbors in Silesian villages also generally live in harmony.

Finally, after prolonged Polish-German negotiations, two treaties have been signed. The first, a border treaty, of 14 November 1990, affirms the existing boundary between Poland and Germany, and the second, of 17 June 1991, is a good-neighbor and friendly cooperation treaty. These treaties, especially the boundary one, represented stability to many people, while to others, a smaller group, they meant burying their hopes and the promises made to them. All attempts at destabilization, [especially] by the periodical SCHLESSISCHE NACHRICHTEN, which to this day refuses to recognize the boundary treaty and continues its incitements, no longer find fertile soil. As for the second treaty, it considers in detail the rights of the minority, basing them on established European standards that are binding not just in Poland.

Even before these treaties were signed, the German minority had been availing itself of all of the rights they specified. The ongoing changes became reflected in specific political, social, and constitutional actions. In May 1990, elections to local governments were held, in which the German minority elected its own representatives in more than 35 gminas [townships] out of a total of 63. In 26 gmina councils, it holds the majority of seats. It also is represented by 16 burgomasters and one vice chairman of the Voivodship Dietine, in which 22 out of a total of 76 councilmen are of German origin.

Thus, while in 1990 the emergence of the German minority had been a shock that initially caused a nationalistic polarization of the society, as reflected in anti-German graffiti, an authentic fear of Germans, and psychological stress on the inhabitants of certain villages, especially the purely Polish ones located in the borderlands of the territory inhabited by the minority, as early as in 1991, during the campaign for elections to the parliament, practically no such polarization was observed. Sure, it was important to certain people to incite Polish-German quarrels. I remember hearing how, in 1991, the windows of a candidate campaigning for a Sejm seat from the list of the German minority were broken. I contacted him and learned that it was not true and that he, in turn, was told that my windows were broken. So this was the normal road taken by rumors and sensationalism, a matter that fortunately was cleared up.

In sum, in 1991 the German minority won seven deputy seats and one senatorial seat in the Polish parliament. Thus, it had its representatives in both chambers and, moreover, was represented by a vice chairman of the Sejm Committee for National and Ethnic Minorities. This markedly strengthened the position of the leaders of the German minority in Opole Silesia, although that was not necessarily how it was perceived by the minority itself, which, following the unification of Germany, believed that its leaders should be more energetic in getting German help for it.

During that period, too, positive actions took place, such as the good work of the German members of the Sejm and the Senate and the wide-ranging activities fostering native cultural traditions inherited from forefathers. The latter, in particular, was essential, considering that, in its initial stage of emergence, the minority was disoriented, not knowing whether, now that it is free to admit its Germanness, it should cultivate its own traditions, as expressed in the lovely Silesian speech, costumes, and folk arts, which in its own perception were "not very German." There also occurred, fortunately not often, attempts to wear Bavarian costumes and artificially adopt alien folklore as one's own. Had that trend continued and developed, that would have been the greatest tragedy to the minority itself, which has strong roots in its own ethnic tradition.

On the other hand, the negative actions included the issue of the notorious memorials erected to honor soldiers fallen in World Wars I and II. Within a brief period of time, 70 monuments were erected, as a rule in the centers of villages or gminas rather than in cemeteries. This matter merits a separate article. Also to be viewed negatively is the too tardy rejection of the German neo-Nazis who settled in Dziewkowice. The leaders of the Sociocultural Society of the German Minority could certainly also mention many other problems, but the problems that exist, to my knowledge, are not fundamental and do not ensue from any failure to implement treaties or from any ill will on the part of the Polish authorities.

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At present, in addition to the above-mentioned society, there also exist other institutionalized groups, such as professional organizations—e.g., "Verein der Schlessischen Bauern" (Union of Silesian Peasants)—the Youth Association of the German Minority in Poland, the weekly GAZETA GORNOSLASKA/Oberschlessische Zeitung, radio broadcasts ("Our Heimat" [Homeland]), and monthly television programs.

But it is the German language that is undergoing the greatest flowering. During the current school year, instruction in the German language is provided in 236 schools; it is being taught as a foreign language rather than as a mother tongue. But it is worth noting that the schoolchildren do not speak German. Therefore, even if in the curriculum it may sometimes be called "mother language," it has to be taught in accordance with the rules for a "foreign language," which is not always understood by the leaders of the Sociocultural Society of the German minority.

The Opole Diocese maintains about 200 parishes, with prayers in the German language held at 100.

The situation has by now become normal. Poles have become accustomed to the idea that Germans are living in Opole Silesia, while the German minority tries to avoid becoming provoked and aspires for good cooperation. The recent parliamentary elections took place in a quite calm atmosphere. There were no nationalistic wrangles and hostile graffiti were practically missing from the walls. The German minority scored the electoral victory—19.0 percent—followed by the Democratic Left Alliance with 16.7 percent, the Polish Peasant Party with 13.5 percent, and the Democratic Union with 10.1 percent. In contrast, the most chauvinistic party, National Community-Polish Nationalist Party, won the least votes in our region—0.2 percent. This demonstrates the desire for a life of tranquility and harmony in Opole Silesia.

The concept of the "German minority," of "Germans," was reintroduced in the Polish political and propaganda vocabulary in 1989. It was then that sociocultural societies of the German minority began to be registered in Polish courts (in some voivodships they were registered under the name "sociocultural societies of the population of German origin"). Johann Kroll, a former chairman of the largest such society, reminisced:

"We tried several times to become registered as a society. We were advised to use "German minority" instead of "Germans" in the appellation of our society. That is what we ultimately did, and our membership rosters swelled to more than 200,000 adults in Opole Voivodship alone. The term "German minority" was seized upon by politicians in Germany and Poland, who used this concept in all of the possible configurations of German-Polish treaties. But we had to demand our rights because no one has deprived us of German citizenship, and so we applied to a court for registration as a "society of Germans." Our skirmishes with the political authorities exerting influence on the courts lasted for a year and half, but ultimately we won and again call ourselves 'Germans.'"

How many Germans live in Poland at present? There is no unequivocal answer to this question. The Opole-based Union of German Sociocultural Societies in Poland, which associates nearly all of the societies of the German minority, consists of 21 voivodship organizations. The largest numerically is the Sociocultural Society of Germans in Silesian Opole, which currently has a membership of 220,000 adults. The second-largest region with a population of German origin is Katowice Voivodship, followed by Czestochowa and Olsztyn voivodships. The voivodship organizations associating Germans are active throughout the so-called Western and Northern Territories. The German minority is registered in Lodz, Radom, and even Nowa Sol (for Zielona Gora Voivodship). Some statistics refer to a German population of half a million—and others even to 1 million. The fact remains that many people of German origin prefer not to disclose it.

A separate group is that of Katowice-based Dietmar Brehmer's "Reconciliation and the Future" German Work Community. This group competes with the DFK (Deutsche Freundschaftskreises) or "German Friendship Circles," representing the Sociocultural Society of the Population of German Origin in Katowice Voivodship. Brehmer won over some DFK members and has scored several spectacular successes. Although the German minority in the Opole region was the first to register lists of surviving former Wehrmacht servicemen (who have not to this day received any compensation for wartime service and often also for slavery in the Soviet Union and imprisonment in the jails of People's Poland), Brehmer in Katowice turned this into a big propaganda issue. Similarly, during the elections to the Polish parliament in September 1993, the "Reconciliation and the Future" Community put up its own candidates for deputies and conducted a big publicity campaign on their behalf (own radio and television broadcasts as well as a special edition of the periodical HOFFNUNG). Brehmer gained several thousand votes at the expense of the "German Minority" Electoral Committee, but he lost the election anyway.

In the nearly four years of their existence, the sociocultural societies of the German minority have been quite active politically, economically, and socioculturally. Members of the First Sejm contributed to drafting a constitutional provision (in the Small Constitution) affirming the rights of the minority, with special emphasis on adherence to international standards. On their initiative were established the Silesia Development Foundation and the Aqua Silesia Foundation (with the aid of German capital, water-supply systems have already been constructed in several score villages of Opole Voivodship). They also influenced the allocation of the funds available to the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation. The grants received benefited

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both Poles and Germans equally. Actually, however, it could be said that Poles were the bigger beneficiaries because the funds were meant for the voivodship as a whole while the Germans in Opole Voivodship account for only one-third of the population. Trade with the FRG is conducted by the German minority chiefly through the mediation of "Wirtschaftsburo Ost-West," which is active nearly throughout western Poland. On the other hand, it did not prove possible to attract German big capital to Silesia. Considerable effort has been invested in overcoming the dominant stereotypes, such as "the German past," "Once a German, always a German," etc.

It is widely said that, if the stereotype of "the bad German" is still deeply rooted in the Polish mentality, the blame for it is borne by both sides—Germans and Poles. Yes, it is true, but when such judgments are voiced, one should consider who the main creator of the stereotype of the "bad German" after the war was, and what was the fate of the population of German origin during the 45 years of People's Poland. Yet even now we are dealing with accusations and insinuations that come only minimally from members of the German minority; it is the Polish majority that is attacking our minority. It is the Polish majority that controls the entire press and all radio and television stations. One issue that is heatedly discussed among the German minority is the unresolved issue of wartime and postwar compensation of former Wehrmacht personnel. It will be interesting to see how this is resolved. That group of war veterans is the last in Poland to receive no social protection and pensions. Another issue is that of the teaching of German. This concerns chiefly Opole Voivodship, where the most Germans have lived and live, and where the teaching of German had been prohibited in all schools until the end of 1989. Nowadays, knowledge of that language is decisive to the survival of the German minority as such, in the opinion of its leaders. There is a problem with teaching German at elementary and secondary schools or even in kindergartens, as well. Despite numerous efforts of the German minority to have the German language taught as a mother language in schools and, despite the official consent of the Ministry of National Education[1], throughout Opole Voivodship as yet not even one school teaches German as the mother language (in about 170 schools German is taught as a foreign language, not as the mother language). Ironically enough, owing to the shortage of qualified German-language instructors, the teaching of Russian has been resumed at many schools. The activists of the German minority claim that the administrator of education in Opole Voivodship is to blame for this.

But there also exist many facts of cooperation between Poles and Germans. Here the significant and active participation of representatives of the German minority in local governments should be particularly stressed. In the Opole region alone, 20 locally elected burgomasters and village heads, or more than one-third, are of German origin. Similarly, more than one-third of deputies to the local voivodship dietine belong in the German minority. It also is worth noting that, in Katowice Voivodship (the former Raciborz County), six of the village heads are of German origin, as are seven village heads and burgomasters in Czestochowa Voivodship (the former Oleski Powiat). Since 1990, there have been no political clashes at the level of these local governments, and their cooperation with the voivodship and national authorities is of the model kind, while their economic and cultural achievements are clearly visible compared with other local governments.

But the most spectacular "change in political options" took place during the recent parliamentary elections in September 1993. When Henryk Kroll first challenged Professor Dorota Simonides for a senatorial seat, she campaigned against him under the slogans "Kroll to the Bundestag" and "Germans to the gas chambers." Before 19 September 1993, no nationalist provocations against the minority had taken place in the Opole region!

In such a situation, is it worthwhile to again raise the issue of the neo-Nazis of Dziewkowice [members of the Nationale Offensive, an FRG party, who moved to Dziewkowice in Poland and began to recruit local youth of German origin], an issue that has been "a hundredfold overblown in Poland and Germany"? Or even what about the "issue" of [erecting] memorials to fallen and missing World War II [German] servicemen and civilians originating from the local population? As is known, the point of all that publicity is merely to remove slogans and emblems that offend the feelings of Poles. After all, the local authorities know how to do that.

At present, the German minority is represented in the Polish parliament by five members, one of whom is a senator. This does not mean that the Germans living in Poland will rest on their laurels. On the contrary, having learned from their work and contacts with the Poles on the Vistula and the Odra and the Germans on the Rhine and the Havel, they are beginning a new stage of activity intended basically to pursue one goal—that of preserving their identity and living a better life in harmony and peace. In Silesia and across Poland.

Footnote

1. "The mother language of a given minority may be taught wherever representatives of the concerned national or ethnic group live."

ΩPolish-Russian Bilateral Issues Viewed

94P20989A

[Editorial Report] Several recent items in the Polish press dealt with the current state of Russo-Polish political and economic relations.

Governing Coalition Praised by Russian MP

Sergey B. Stankevich, Russian parliament member and chairman of the parliamentary Working Group on Contacts with Poland, said at a 21 June press conference in

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Warsaw that "the biggest problem in Polish-Russian relations, for both partners, is the question of strategic selection." Stankevich, in Poland as part of a delegation of Russian members of parliament, maintained that "Poland should choose: to turn toward the West and completely integrate with it, or turn also toward the East. During the course of our meetings in Poland, we had the impression that a particular portion of the Polish political elite sees this issue in a rather simplistic manner-...[wanting] Poland to integrate completely with the West, disregarding losses to the East, at which point Poland's eastern border becomes the border of Western civilization. Such an approach seems to us one-sided and results in quite serious losses. We much prefer that integration with European structures be accompanied by an active Eastern policy. If this strategic selection is made and if it has a level-headed character, then a resolution will be found for the remaining problems in our relationship."

Stankevich also remarked that, "for the first time," the Polish Government is attempting to work out a "policy strategy in its relations with the East." In previous postcommunist governments, "there were no such developments." Stankevich noted that "this is a hopeful sign." (RZECZPOSPOLITA 22 Jun 94)

Conference on Eastern Policy

At a 6-7 June conference on the Eastern Policy of the Polish Republic, sponsored by the Foreign Ministry's State Institute of International Affairs, Polish ministers and representatives of the major political parties spoke in favor of maintaining good relations with Russia. According to a report on the conference in the 7 June RZECZPOSPOLITA, the Russia policy of Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski was endorsed by representatives of most opposition parties but was criticized by members of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), which together form the governing coalition. (Olechowski is not a member of either party.)

Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee and presidium member of the Freedom Union (UW) party, bemoaned the activities of some members of parliament and government officials who use the "Russia motif" in "intraparty disputes," warning that this tactic could be turned around and used in Moscow "as an argument against Poland." Deputy Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski joined with Geremek in warning against Russophobia and appealing for the development of an "education program that would serve to counteract anti-Russian feelings" in Polish society. Geremek also argued that the issue of Poles living in Kazakhstan, while a particular problem in Poland's East policy, was receiving "too much press," an opinion rejected by Leszek Moczulski, head of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). Foreign Minister Olechowski stated that, while he views the problems of Poles living in Russia and other parts of the former USSR as an "important aspect of Poland's East policy," the financial resources to deal with this problem are simply not available.

At the close of the first day's session, individual party representatives offered assessments of the government's East policy. "To the surprise of many," Tadeusz Samborski, a Sejm deputy of the governing PSL, offered the sharpest criticism of current Russia policy. Samborski called for "more active economic cooperation and cultural and scientific exchange" with Russia and accused the diplomats appointed by Foreign Minister Olechowski's predecessors of "anti-Russianism." The representative of the SLD, the PSL's coalition partner, was milder in his evaluation of the foreign ministry's current policy, expressing only moderate criticism of the "stagnation of youth exchange...and cultural cooperation" with Russia. Ludwik Dorn, of the Center Accord (PC), Wieslaw Chrzanowski, the leader of the Christian National Union (ZChN), Piotr Nowina-Konopka, of the UW, and Sejm Deputy Piotr Marchiniak, of the Union of Labor (UP) all endorsed the government's Russia policy. Dorn commented that it was a "strange fact" that the opposition parties were more supportive of government policy than the parties of the government coalition. (RZECZPOSPOLITA 7 Jun 94)

Trade With Russia Stagnant

In an 11 June GAZETA BANKOWA article titled "It Takes Two To Tango: Absorbed in Domestic Problems, Russia Shows No Interest in Reestablishing Trade Ties to Poland," journalist Iwona Ryniewicz discussed the reasons for the continuing relative decline in Polish-Russian trade. Ryniewicz pointed out that, while Russia remains Poland's third-argest trading partner, the volume of trade between the two nations is stagnant, and Russia's share of Polish exports and imports has steadily diminished. "Bilateral trade has been hovering at the same level of $2 billion for the past three years, and nothing indicates that it might increase substantially." In 1993, exports to Russia accounted for 4.6 percent of overall Polish exports (a decline of 1.1 percent, compared with 1992), and imports from Russia amounted to 6.8 percent of total imports (a decline of 2.3 percent).

Ryniewicz traced the lack of growth in trade with Russia in part to the high level of mutual indebtedness of both countries. The total Russian debt to Poland is estimated at $334 million and 8.3 billion transfer rubles, while Poland owes Russia approximately $2 billion and more than 5 billion transfer rubles. Large numbers of unpaid bills on the part of their Russian customers have made many Polish companies reluctant to make further shipments. As a result, "the structure of bilateral trade does not reflect actual import and export potential." All factors being equal, noted Ryniewicz, Polish goods that are uncompetitive in Western markets should have a "natural" outlet in Russia. Because of its own debt and budget deficit problems, the Polish Government finds itself unable to assume any of the debts of Russian

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companies, even though many of them were incurred in transactions that resulted from intergovernmental agreements.

Ryniewicz pointed to Russian import restrictions, imposed in reaction to that country's ballooning foreign indebtedness, as further obstacles to Polish exports. She also noted that barter arrangements exchanging Polish food for Russian natural gas are no longer attractive to Russia, which prefers to sell its gas for dollars, and Polish food has become generally too expensive for Russians due to the loss of government subsidization.

Kolodko, Apwlak Comment on Privatization Program

LD2907221894 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] In an interview for Polish Radio, Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko said that, although Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has not yet signed the last list of enterprises selected for the program of mass privatization, this program is being constantly implemented. Kolodko explained that the last, third list had, in essence, been prepared but that ministers are still discussing its final shape.

[Kolodko] If the appropriate decisions are made and Prime Minister Pawlak signs the third list in the coming days or even weeks, the program will still be implemenetd in accordance with the time schedule. This will make it possible to bring in shares in commercialized enterprises from the two lists that have already been signed and eventually from this third one into the National Investment Funds. Then the program will not so much enter into the implementation phase because, as I say, it is already in the implementaton phase, but the successive stage of this implementation would then commence in September."

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak today declined to reply to the question of whether he will sign the consent to the start of the third list of the mass privatization program. Speaking at a news conference in Olsztyn, he said that it is necessary to consider whether the envisaged income from the sale of share certificates, estimated at almost 4 billion zlotys [Z], will be profitable in relation to a book value of the enterprises that exceeds Z70 billion.

Kolodko's Personnel Changes Delineated

94EP0077A Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 28, 9 Jul 94 p 4

[Article by Mariusz Janicki: "The Deputy Prime Minister's People"]

[Text] Recently, several major personnel changes have taken place at the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], the economic ministries, and other institutions. They are linked to the application of the "Strategy for Poland," conceived by Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko, who is looking for associates who are both loyal and suitable, owing to certain considerations such as political ones.

At URM, Jan Monkiewicz, an economics professor and expert on international economic relations, economics of technological progress, and foreign trade, was appointed under secretary of state and, a month later—that is, in the past few days—secretary of state. In addition, two new general directors were appointed at URM: Dr. Jerzy Hausner of the Krakow School of Economics, who specializes in macroeconomic problems, and Marek Wagner. The position of general director does not seem very high, and it is not mentioned in the government's guide to information services, but the people named above provide direct and, hence, substantive consulting assistance to Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko.

The post of secretary of the Economics Committee under the Council of Ministers, vacated at the end of May by Andrzej Zor (who held it barely two months), was given to Izabella Dudzin, along with the post of under secretary of state. Dudzin had been working at the Ministry of Finance since 1974, most recently as director of the Department for the Finances of the National Economy.

Other of Kolodko's people include the newly appointed deputy ministers of the Finance Ministry. Theirs are, to put it briefly, key posts so far as the budget and financial discipline of the state are concerned. The resigning Henryk Chmielak and dismissed Wojciech Misiag were replaced by Krzysztof Kalicki and Elzbieta Chojna-Duch. Kalicki, who was appointed secretary of state and first deputy minister of finance, is a graduate of the Foreign Trade Department of the Main School of Planning and Statistics and has a Ph.D. in economics. In the past four years, he served as an adviser to the minister of finance (in Leszek Balcerowicz's time) and later as director of the Foreign Department at the Ministry of Finance. He had studied under scholarships at many foreign universities (among others, Georgetown University and the University of Duisburg). His doctoral dissertation dealt with "Financial Management of a Foreign Branch of a Transnational Company." Dr. E. Chojna-Duch, currently an under secretary of state, is a graduate of the Department of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw and attended Centre Europeen Universitaire in Nancy. Her doctoral dissertation dealt with "Investment Programming, Planning, and Design in the Polish People's Republic," and her habilitation work, "Structure of a Budget Subsidy, a Study in Theory of Jurisprudence," was distinguished with an award from the Ministry of National Education in 1988. Until 1 June 1994, the new under secretary engaged in academic work. A month before her current appointment, she became an adviser to the Ministry of Finance. She is a member of the Council for Local Governments under

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the President of Poland and is active within the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms.

Early in June, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak recalled Jolanta Pallas-Fabjanska from the post of general inspector for Treasury audits and under secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance. These two posts were then made separate, with the first assigned to Waldemar Manugiewicz, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, and the second to Ryszard Michalski, previously director of the Department for Foreign Exchange Policy. Marek Ociepka became the chief of staff for the minister of finance.

Personnel changes are also taking place at seemingly less strategic ministries. A new deputy minister of agriculture and food economyis Katarzyna Duczkowska-Malysz, a professor at the Institute for Economic Growth, Main School of Commerce. For the past few years, she has been specializing in problems of "multifunctionality and entrepreneurial spirit in rural areas." At her new post, she replaced Wlodzimierz Dabrowski, who had worked at that ministry for four years.

At the Ministry of Construction, Stanislaw Mizdra, until 1989 an employee of District Procurature and subsequently a lawyer with a private practice, was appointed to the post of under secretary of state.

Lower-level officials are also being replaced, which is a good tactic from the standpoint of the higher-ups, because then the attention of the press is diverted and they can continue doing their own thing. New appointments to the positions of deputy chairpersons, deputy directors, etc. have been made at, among other agencies, the Main Customs Office and the State Securities Commission. Here a "method of tiny steps" is evident, meaning that, while those at the top are left alone, the layer below is reinforced with new trusted associates of the higher-ups, which makes the next rotation natural and acceptable to both civil servants and public opinion. In this way, anyone can be replaced, regardless of his competence.

Further personnel shifts are presaged. The Press Spokesman of the Ministry of Finance, Jan Wojnowski, declared, "Because a new boss is being appointed, new department directors are being appointed, too." As a corollary, because new department directors are being appointed, [new lower-level officials are being appointed, too]....

Further moves on the personnel chessboard are being mentioned. This concerns the Ministry of Privatization, the Ministry of Industry and Trade, and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

At URM, some people are saying, and not just in the negative sense, that Grzegorz Kolodko is a hotshot, a man with an overall vision, that he is retiring officials who doubt his "strategy," and that he can afford to be so decisive because of support from the parliamentary opposition. He wants to surround himself with only trusted associates, as once did Leszek Balcerowicz. And, indeed, Balcerowicz's entourage had displayed impressive loyalty to its chief. Kolodko wants something similar, although he is operating under much more difficult political and partisan circumstances.

A high URM official who wants to remain anonymous has declared, "Kolodko is a natural battler. He is perfectly aware that he has to show up for the duel and that the duel will be held, though not today and not at 0600. For the time being, he is looking for good "seconds," who could serve him in any situation, including a peaceful resolution of the duel, but, all the same, he is a fighter, a man who likes to win. Whatever he may do now, he can count on being backed by both the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party, but, if he stumbles, he will have to pay a heavy price. Many people are waiting for him to stumble. And he is perfectly aware of this. That is why he is at the same time expansive and cautious, aggressive and willing to compromise. But sooner or later a confrontation will happen."

Three Large Banks Agree To Consolidate

WS0108135894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jul 94 p 9

[Article by Kraj: "Consolidation of Major Banks Has Begun"]

[Text] Three large banks—Wielkopolski Bank Kredytowy SA [WBK], Bank Przemyslowo-Handlowy SA [BPH], and Polski Bank Rozwoju SA [PBR]—signed a letter of intent in Warsaw yesterday. In the letter, the banks announce joint measures aimed at signing an agreement to establish a banking group.

The joint potential of the WBK, the BPH, and the PBR will position the future group as one of the top Polish banks in terms of operating capital.

"The actual form of consolidation has not yet been decided. A team of experts will work on this particular aspect. There are many possibilities. It could be a bank holding company, or there could be some elements of capital merger. It is also possible that we will set up joint firms and undertakings. We want to choose the model that would best serve our banks and their shareholders," PBR Chairman Wojciech Kostrzewa told ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

The measures being undertaken by the WBK, the BPH, and the PBR are aimed at increasing the role of the banking sector in the process of restructuring and privatizing enterprises, which often requires amounts of capital beyond the capabilities of even the largest Polish banks. The other goal is to strengthen the banks' position, particularly against the prospect of opening up our banking services market to financial institutions from the European Union.

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Iliescu Reassures Population of State of Health

AU2907195694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] One week after undergoing surgery at Elias Hospital, Romanian President Ion Iliescu made an exclusive statement at the hospital for the news department of Romanian Television, a statement which was broadcast on the 2000 [1700 GMT] "Current Events" program. Here is Mr. Ion Iliescu's statement, recorded from the television program:

[Begin Iliescu recording] Good evening, esteemed viewers.

I would like to address myself in this way—via television—to all those concerned about my health and post-surgery recovery, who conveyed to me warm and human sentiments, and words of encouragement and solidarity, as well as wishes for a speedy recovery. I received many letters, messages, telegrams, faxes, and telephone calls, which also expressed their worry over certain so- called alarming information that has appeared in several publications. As a matter of fact, I appreciate the generally balanced and decent tone of all informative materials, communications, and comments in most publications. However, a few false pieces of information, untruths, and irresponsible assumptions have also found their way in print. The only truth is the one contained in the official communiques issued by the collective of physicians, both on the character and result of the surgery and on the subsequent evolution, the body's recovery, and convalescence.

There is no cancer whatsoever. However, any surgery is also a trauma, which affects the human body and undoubtedly causes suffering. The recovery of the body's potential and normal functions requires time and progresses differently from one man to another. As I said on radio two days after surgery, I am glad that a highly professional collective of physicians and a skilled and conscientious auxiliary staff were involved in the operation and in the post-surgery supervision and care. They all helped me to overcome, well, both the operation and the successive stages of the post-surgery evolution. On this occasion, too, I would like to thank these brilliant representatives of the Romanian School of Medicine, in which I have had and continue to have all trust.

Once again, I thank everyone who was rooting for me with their souls and minds. I assure you all that I feel fine right now. Thank you. [end recording]

Miners Strike Continues; Talks Scheduled

AU2907181594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] On the second day after work was halted at the mining operations at Rovinari, Rosia, and Pinoasa, following the start of the general strike by the Rovinari Trade Union Federation, groups of strikers continued their sit-in on the platform of the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation in the center of Targu Jiu Municipality. According to correspondent Cornel Sorescu, a meeting is scheduled for tomorrow, around 1000 [0700 GMT], between the members of the Corporation's management board and the representatives of the strikers, in order to discuss the contentious problems between the trade unions of the aforementioned mines and the Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation. Mr. Prefect Gheorghe Caraligea—Marculescu—who also attended yesterday's conclusion of a protocol between the two sides, signed by Engineer Radu Mironovici, general manager of the Corporation, and Marin Condeescu, chairman of the Federation of Rovinari Mining Trade Union Federation—said that these talks will also be held at the Prefect's Office and will be devoted to examining the situation and finding solutions to end the labor conflict.

Miners Make Demand

AU0108091294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 1 Aug 94

[Text] The general strike in the Rovinari mining basin, at the Rovinari, Rosia, and Pinoasa mining operations, has entered its fifth day, as so far no agreement has been reached on the settlement of the claims that originally caused the strike to be declared at 0700 [0400 GMT] on Thursday [28 July].

The almost four-hour long negotiations that took place yesterday at the Trade Union Cultural Center in the town of Targu Jiu between representatives of the trade unions and the members of the Administration Board of the [Autonomous Pitcoal] Corporation did not end the conflict, although there were certain domains in which the parties shared views, such as the payment of salaries on time, the calling to account of those responsible for the current situation of the corporation, the recuperation of 120 billion lei, being the value of the coal already delivered to consumers, the setting up of service-offering commercial companies subject to the agreement of the trade unions, and the retirement of those who have already met the conditions or who are involved in other private businesses.

Nevertheless, the principal demand, namely to increase salaries to restore last year's level of purchasing power, has not been solved, as the administration, invoking financial difficulties, merely suggests a 7-percent increase.

Mr. Radu Mironovici, the general director of the corporation, expressed his intention to send a delegation of the Administration Board to Bucharest today to discuss the issue [with government representatives] and find solutions.

Thus, one has to note the readiness of both parties to continue negotiations. Over the past days a protocol was worked out that was signed by the corporation's general director and Marin Condeescu, the chairman of the

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Rovinari Miners' Trade Union Federation, asserting that the strikers' readiness to negotiate with the members of the Administration Board, as happened on Saturday at the [Targu Jiu] Prefect's Office and yesterday at the Trade Union Cultural Center.

Also yesterday, the trade union federation issued three communiques demanding the firing of the general director of the Targu Jiu Autonomous Pitcoal Corporation and the calling to material and juridical account of those responsible for the current difficult situation of the corporation, and calling for solidarity and support from national and international organizations for the Rovinari mining basin strikers, as well as the hunger strikers on the platform in front of the Targu Jiu headquarters of the corporation.

Article Fears 'Politicization' of Army

AU0108082594 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by Reserve Captain Valerian Stan: "The Most Pronounced Involution of the Military System After 1989"]

[Text] Many people saw in Mr. Gheorghe Tinca's appointment to the leadership of the Ministry of Defense an additional chance to consolidate the Army's prestige. They also hoped that we would thus fulfill one of the standards of contemporary democracy—namely, the establishment of the civil society's control over the military system. Even those who regretted parting with the former minister of defense, career soldier Niculae Spiroiu, consoled themselves with this hope. Unfortunately, the least optimistic expectations came true—namely, those that hinted to the danger of the ruling party, with its well-known appetite for hegemony, striving to subordinate even the Army to its own interests.

We recall that, shortly after his investiture, Mr. Tinca had many meetings with the press, either personally or through his spokesman. At that time, many journalists and observers of public life rejoiced in the fact that the barracks secrecy had finally been lifted by the defense minister himself. Realistically though, behind a partly faked transparence, things were developing in a somewhat different direction from the official statements.

We have reached today the most pronounced involution of the military system after 1989. I say this fully aware of the appropriateness of the terms chosen. Mr. Tinca has undoubtedly inherited part of the current situation from his predecessors. Half measures, certain obstructions of the powers that be, and even the unwillingness of the former ministers can explain this inheritance to a degree. However, to all this, one must unfortunately add Mr. Tinca's mandate, which is tarnished by serious party servility.

Nevertheless, when referring to the current state of affairs in the Army, the ministry's leadership proves itself incapable of overcoming—if I may be forgiven for using this term—the stereotype insincerity of the past balance sheets. Regarding the Army's combat readiness, we are invariably told that the "results obtained are in keeping with the current stage and targets of training," while "the disciplinary state and practice is generally at an appropriate level without any manifestations capable of having a negative impact on the combat preparedness of the units and subunits." I have just quoted from the latest issue of ARMATA ROMANIEI newspaper. Therefore, the various airplane crashes, the desertion of armed soldiers, the inadmissibly high number of dead soldiers while on guard duty, or the spreading dissatisfaction in the barracks are not "manifestations capable of having a negative impact." Moreover, instead of getting to the heart of the matter, Mr. Minister Tinca deemed it necessary to forbid the military men to turn themselves to the civilian press. Aside from the fact that such a decision may even have the opposite effect, thus further increasing the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, it is also totally unconstitutional, to the extent that "the exercise of certain rights or freedoms (including the freedom of expression or discussion, in this case) can only be limited by law."

In my opinion, the Army is currently faced with two pretty serious problems: one is a matter of conscience, pertaining to the crisis it is now going through, and the second one refers to material conditions. In the first case, I am referring to the increasingly more accentuated emphasis on the compulsory politicization of the training-educational process. For some time now, I have been in possession of a statistical list with officers from the nomenklatura of the former Higher Army Political Council and the 4th Directorate (Military Counterintelligence) of the Securitate. Even the ones less familiar with the military realities before the revolution know that the communist regime kept the Army under very strict political control through the Higher Army Political Council and the 4th Directorate. Today, 82 percent of the officers of the Higher Army Political Council and 75 percent of 4th Directorate officers hold a much higher position than before December 1989 and their share in the ministry's leadership has reached 63 percent, something hard to imagine only a few months ago. That is why after Tinca's arrival at the ministry, the military units have been subjected to an intensive propaganda in favor of the power and against the opposition. The big, even very big, surprise for the initiators of this true campaign is the resistance with which they are beginning meet, particularly in the operational units.

For instance, a short while ago, the Educational and Cultural Department of the ministry had to give up a theme—due to the reaction in some units where it was initiated—aimed at accrediting the idea that not even the Royal Army opposed King Mihai's expulsion from the country in December 1947, thus allegedly punishing him for the "treason committed against the patriot Marshall Antonescu [Romania's military dictator during World War II]." Aside from the fact that Mr. Tinca's

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historians pretend not to know that the Army was already purged of noncommunist members by the end of 1947—a purge that Lucretiu Patrascanu (prominent member of the Romanian Communist Party) had started as early as September 1944—one cannot help but wonder why our soldiers are again in a situation whereby they are being taught history by its falsifiers. Fortunately, the people in the barracks are beginning to openly stand up to the lie and, in the case mentioned here, the riposte seems to have been without precedent.

The commissioned and noncommissioned officers are also displeased with the status of the higher military hierarchy. The commander of the Armed Forces, President Ion Iliescu, is increasingly perceived as the main culprit from the deepening national discord and as the main cause, in the opinion of many soldiers, of the crisis currently experienced by the Romanian society. Second, the suspicion that the present minister of defense belonged to the Securitate tends to spread among the military as a certainty, mainly fostered by the fact that, after a pretty cryptical initial statement, Mr. Tinca has made his biography a subject of taboo. The Army cannot forget the humiliation to which it has often been subjected by the Securitate during the communist years. Consequently, it is easy to understand why it does not want to be again at its beck and call. Finally, the second big problem of the Army is the aberrant austerity to which it is being forcefully subjected. The financial and material poverty obliges the commanders of units and subunits to resort to the most serious deviations from the rigors of the training process. For instance, whole series of tank and armored car gunners are discharged without being properly trained due to the lack of fuel, while Mr. Tinca assures us that the "results are in accordance with the current stage." As a matter of fact, he was one of the two ministers who had no objection to the budget allocated to their ministries.

I also know that we are poor, although I do not think that we should have reached this bottom level. However, it is an irresponsible act to allocate almost as much money to the special troops for the presidency's defense (the Guard and Protocol Service- SPP) and to no less than five secrete intelligence services—the Romanian Intelligence Service-SRI and one service for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of National Defense, and the government—as you allocate to the Army; this is what happened this year. The U.S. secretary of defense, who visited Romania for a few hours, said that "the Army is undergoing a substantial reform in Romania." Mr. Tinca rejoiced for nothing, since he did not really fool anyone. The complications in the former USSR region favor such circumstantial statements. Even when they are very interested in your geographical position, it is not enough to tell the various foreign officials that we are in favor of joining NATO. Even though we were not reminded of it on this occasion, one can only join NATO if one has a well-trained and properly equipped Army, not with paramilitary troops from Cotroceni.

Atomic Institute Head Rejects Nuclear Risks

94P20973A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 14 Jun 94 p 5

[Interview with Dr. Alexandru Garleanu, director general of the Institute of Atomic Physics, by Mihai Diac; place and date not given: "Nuclear Activities Present No Danger for Human Beings"]

[Text] [Diac] First of all, tell us something about your institute.

[Garleanu] At the present time, the name, Institute of Atomic Physics [IFA], refers to a network of research institutes in the field of physics, both basic and applied research, in which more than 3,000 people are employed. These institutes are coordinated by the IFA, as a national institute with the role of determining the national strategy in the field of physics, drafting programs, engaging in international representations, awarding the title of doctor, and coordinating relations among the units. For this, we have a Scientific Council, composed of the representatives of each institute. In contrast to other branches of research, physics does not have its own industry, so there must be an interface between the institutes and the government bodies. That is the role of the IFA.

[Diac] What are your current objectives?

[Garleanu] Our main concern is to reorganize our activity so as to create a modern institution. The National Institute of Physics, which we are currently planning, will be established in four geographic centers of cultural and scientific tradition. They will be in Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj, and Timisoara. In the West, a large university can be constructed in an open field, but extensive investment funds are needed. Since we do not have any money, we have to take advantage of the cultural tradition and competence of our people. At the same time, we must develop our international relations and integrate ourselves in the European institutions. Research is costly and we cannot bear some costs by ourselves. But, if we become partners, with equal rights, in the Nuclear Research Center in Geneva—an international center—or if we cooperate with similar institutes in France, Italy, Germany, the United States, and Russia, we can carry on research at the same level as these countries do.

[Diac] Is Romanian nuclear research on a par with world research?

[Garleanu] In general, it is not, because it does not have the necessary economic power. But, in some small areas, for certain objectives, we can situate ourselves on the same level, especially if we cooperate with researchers in the rest of the world. The capabilities, intelligence, and training of the Romanian specialists enable them to engage in research, on the same level, with scientists in Europe, America, and Asia, if they are provided the same technical conditions.

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[Diac] What are the principal difficulties that you face?

[Garleanu] On the one hand, we must struggle with the mentalities of the past. Quite a few people maintain that we cannot carry out research because "we are undergoing a transition." But, we will never emerge from the transition if we not propose to do something to supercede it! For a modern, democratic, Western-type society, with a free market, we must create in Romania institutions which are similar to those which exist in the West, and which are comparable to and compatible with them. But, a number of people do not understand this, or they are not interested. A number of institutions talk about the lack of a legislative framework in our country, so we have to construct this legislation; the apparat of the ministries has a hard time understanding this.

On the other hand, there is the matter of financing—which is uncertain, with very great delays. Activity in the area of physics, at the present time, is subsidized by three principal sources: the special fund for research and development, of 1 percent; another way—directly from the state budget; and contracts signed with economic agents. Some 50 percent of the financing comes from the 1-percent fund, 30 percent from the state budget, and the remaining 20 percent, from economic contracts. These percentages vary from case to case. For example, more than 30 percent of the financing of institutes in Cluj and Iasi comes from economic contracts. These percentages vary from year to year, on the basis of the possibilities of the state and the national economy.

The level of these orders, unfortunately, has dropped, for two reasons. On the one hand, the pace of industrial activity and of the construction of the Cernavoda nuclear power plant has slowed down. On the other hand, Romanian industry continues to have more confidence in items which are imported than in those which we can produce ourselves. It will have to give us more credit, on the basis of the fact that we have done the following so far: research for the production of heavy water was initiated by the institute in Cluj and was continued, as a pilot project, by the institute in Ramnicu Valcea. On the basis of these technolgies, the heavy water combine in Turnu-Severin was constructed—since heavy water is one of the basic components for the functioning of nuclear power plants. Another important element—the combustible element—was perfected in the Pitesti Nuclear Research Institute (which now belongs to RENEL [Romanian Electric Power Authority]) and the factory for combustible elements was also established in the framework of this institute. The factory for combustible elements and the institutes on the Magurele platform have produced measurement and control devices, dosimeters, different components of materials for power plants. Not only for the first, but also for the second energy group at Cernavoda; therefore, they have the apparatus needed for operation. At the present time, the equipment is not functioning because they do not have any orders.

[Diac] How are you resolving this situation?

[Garleanu] We must change our profile and reorganize—this is very normal in a free economy. We are ready to honor our orders for the Cernavoda power plant; we have the necessary intelligence and technical capability. What is going on now and will go on in the future, under our responsibility, are the collection, processing, and storing of the radioactive wastes which will result. Currently, we are doing this for all the nuclear activities which are taking place in Romania and we will extend this activity when the nuclear power plant goes into operation. We do not have any special problems in this area. Even Professor Hans Blix, director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, when he visited our country, expressed satisfaction with the conditions in which we are carrying out this activity and suggested that we cooperate, in this field, with specialized institutes in France, Belgium, and Switzerland, whose activities similar to ours and from which we could learn a number of things.

[Diac] Do you have problems with the so-called "brain drain?"

[Garleanu] I would not call it "brain drain." Of course we have problems. Many specialists and young people have left for the West and some of them will not return because of the difficult conditions which exist in our country. But this is a normal process, which Western Europe experienced after World War II. But now, it no longer exists since workers in West Europe are on the same level as those in the United States. Now there is a reverse exodus, from America to West Europe. I think that some of the young people who are leaving our country today will return to Romania in 15-20 years. Any drain of intelligence is a loss. But we have chosen to let them leave with the risk that they might not return. But those who do return will continue to do their work here, on a higher level, or they will remain isolated, as was the case prior to 1989. The loss is greater if they keep themselves isolated here. Scientific research, especially in the field of physics, is international. Even if it is upto the level of Germany or Japan, from the technical point of view, you cannot do high level scientific research if you do not collaborate and if you do not have free international circulation.

[Diac] What can you tell us about the risks of nuclear activities?

[Garleanu] We are strictly within the limits of natural radioactivity. The recent meteorological phenomena—the rains which have been discussed—were not radioactive. The most recent significant event in this regard was the Cernobyl accident. Nuclear activity per se, the putting of a plant into operation, presents no risks. The only danger is when there is an accident and the necessary security measures should be taken. In contrast to the power plants in the neighboring countries, which are based on the Soviet model, the Cernavoda power plant is of the CANDU type (from Canada), which is considered to be the safest in the world. Since 1990, the responsibility for the design, construction, and operation of

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nuclear power plants in Romania has been given, by law, to RENEL, and not to us. Everyone is terrified of the normal radioactivity which will be produced as a result of the operation of nuclear power plants—for example, the Cernavoda plant. But, under normal operating conditions, the level of radioactivity is not very high; it is even less than what is produced by mining coal! Neither one nor the other are dangerous, under normal circustances, for man. Statistically speaking, dangers from radioactivity are much less than those of highway traffic, chemical combines, airplanes, and construction work. However, since dangers from radioactivity occur less frequently, the population knows less about them and the media sometimes give them exaggerated attention.

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Serbs Define Conditions for Accepting Peace Plan

LD0108122194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 1 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serbs in Bosnia will accept the peace plan after the inevitable changes to the maps have been made and an agreement on precise constitutional arrangements guaranteeing the sovereignty of the Serb republic has been drawn up, says a statement forwarded to TANJUG from the office of the president of the Serb republic today.

The statement was sent by the Serb republic to the contact group via the Russian Federation, Great Britain, and France.

The statement says: "The Serb republic has concluded that the Geneva communique issued by the ministers of foreign affairs leaves an open door to further attempts to be made in the direction of reaching a peaceful solution.

In the light of that fact, the Serb republic expresses the desire immediately to resume negotiations with the contact group regarding some aspects of the map on offer in order to make the territorial settlement entirely acceptable to the Serb side.

The Serb republic believes that if the international community truly wishes to contribute to the establishment of a just and permanent peace, it is never too late for efforts to be made in that direction.

After the inevitable changes to the maps have been made and an agreement on precise constitutional arrangements guaranteeing the sovereignty of the Serb republic has been drawn up, the Serbs will be ready to accept the plan."

Karadzic Urges 'Immediate' Resumption of Talks

AU0108132994 Paris AFP in English 1312 GMT 1 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 1 (AFP)—The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, said Monday he wants an "immediate" resumption of negotiations with the international contact group on Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said. In a statement published in the Serb stronghold of Pale, Karadzic said he wanted changes in the contact group's plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina which "guarantee the sovereignty of the (self-proclaimed) Serb republic."

Serbs Reconsidering Cooperation With Contact Group

LD3007164394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—Jovan Zametica, the special press adviser to the [Bosnian] Serb republic president [Radovan Karadzic] told the Serb republic press bureau today that the Serbs were still waiting to see the full text of the contact group's communique.

"In the meantime we are ready seriously to consider whether the Serb republic should continue to cooperate with the contact group, in particular with those members of the group who were most vocal in giving support to the policy of punitive measures against the Serbs," Zametica's statement, forwarded to TANJUG, says.

Bosnian Serbs Agree to Talks at Sarajevo Airport

LD3007205194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2027 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—The [Bosnian] Serb republic [RS] has accepted the proposal to hold talks under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mediation at Sarajevo airport on Monday, 1 August, with the Muslim side on the issues of prisoner exchange, putting an end to sniping in Sarajevo and freedom of movement, a statement issued this evening by the president of the RS People's Assembly says.

Having accepted the proposal by UN representatives, the Serb side expects to receive the confirmation tomorrow that the meeting will take place.

The agreement was reached at a meeting in Pale today between the RS assembly president, Momcilo Krajisnik; the RS vice president, Nikola Koljevic; and UNPROFOR and ICRC representatives Sergio de Mello, Dejan Mihov and Andreas Kuhn. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Announces 'Big No' to Milosevic

AU0108122894 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 94 p 2

["Z.R."-attributed report: "A 'No' Possibly to Milosevic as Well"]

[Text] Kragujevac—This is a shocking situation that we did not expect, although we did have a option in reserve for a reply to the contact group. However, we did not at all expect an explicit demand that we accept the plan, as such a demand is a complete failure.... It is certain, however, that we shall take all Slobodan Milosevic's suggestions into consideration to the maximum, in all its parts, of course, in which this can be done. Besides, we are not going to offer the West the pleasure of discord among the Serbs, as a quarrel is the worst defeat that can happen to them, Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the assembly of the Serb republic, told Radio Kragujevac yesterday, commenting on the latest statement by Slobodan Milosevic to POLITIKA. Krajisnik pointed out that he had not heard the statement in its original form, but only as interpreted by the program's presenter.

Further on in his statement, the chairman of the Pale parliament nevertheless announced a new "big no" to Slobodan Milosevic, pointing out that "if there are any ultimatums by any side, the Serb republic leadership will hold a referendum so that the people can decide...."

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"There is no one in the Serb republic who would not tell you the following: We would have never reached these solutions and would not have been able to fight this battle had it not been for the support of the people and leadership of Serbia and Montenegro. However, we cannot now lose a state and accept a union, a joint state with the Muslims and Croats, that is, we cannot dissociate ourselves from Serbia. Moreover, it is clear to us that there can be no state without Brcko and the contact group's plan cuts off this part and thereby makes a monstrosity out of the Serb republic," Krajisnik said.

Further in his statement, the chairman of the assembly of the Serb republic pointed out that "the deadline of seven to 10 days given to the Serbian side to change its stand is a new blackmail on the part of the international community."

"The contact group has left a door open to further negotiations. However, I am afraid that dominant in the group are those forces that want to force the Serbs to respond negatively, which means a continuation of the war. Serbs have no longer any reason to continue waging war and they are proving that by their readiness to give back some territories. However, we cannot commit national suicide by returning the most vital territories. Therefore, it would be best if the people decided on all this," Krajisnik said.

Krajisnik Proposes Referendum on Peace Plan

LD0108105794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1012 GMT 1 Aug 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 1 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Parliament President Momcilo Krajisnik said Sunday the Bosnian Serbs would do their best to take into account all suggestions made by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic inviting them to accept the contact group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"There is no reason for the Bosnian Serbs to fight and they prove it by wanting to return part of the territories. However, we cannot commit a national suicide by returning most vital territories. Therefore, the best thing to do is to let the people decide," said Krajisnik in an interview to Radio Kragujevac.

He said that in case of any ultimatums, the Bosnian Serb leadership would call a referendum and let the people decide.

Krajisnik said there was no such person in the Bosnian Serb republic that would say "We would not have won this battle without the support of the peoples and leaders of Serbia and Montenegro, but we cannot lose our state now and accept a union, a joint state with the Moslems and the Croats, and be separated from Serbia."

It is clear to the Bosnian Serbs that there is no serb state without Brcko (the neck of the [word indistinct] corridor linking the east and the west of the Bosnian Serb republic), and the contact group plan cuts this part off and completely disfigures the Serb republic, he said.

He said he feared that the contact group was dominated by the powers wanting to force the Serbs into saying "no" to the plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would (?mean) the continuation of the war.

"The seven-to-ten-day deadline given to the Serb side to reconsider its position is another blackmail by the international community," Krajisnik said.

The Bosian Serbs last week explained a declaration containing their reply to the contact group plan and called for a resumption of the talks on Bosnia and clarification of certain elements that may not be clear and known to the Serb side.

Izetbegovic, Silajdzic Hold News Conference

LD3107144194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 31 Jul 94

[News conference by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Haris Silajdzic, Bosnian prime minister and president of the Croat-Muslim Federation, with unidentified correspondents in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency building in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] [Izetbegovic] The following is (?our statement) on the Contact Group's communique yesterday.

Yesterday's statement from the ministerial meeting of the Contact Group countries contains both positive and negative elements, but, viewed globally, it has disappointed the expectations of our public.

The good elements of the communique by the five ministers are the following: The principle of preserving the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders was again confirmed. The main culprit for the war and all the suffering of the people [words indistinct] was also clearly named once again, and that is the ruling regime in Serbia and Montenegro. The sanctions against Serbia have been tightened, and a greater resolve to apply them was announced. The demand for free movement of humanitarian convoys and international forces was stressed. A warning against the renewed strangulation of Sarajevo was issued. The strengthening of the protected areas status was announced, as well as the extension of the heavy weapons exclusion zones. Finally, the threat to lift the arms embargo remains, and we believe that it is now more likely that this will happen.

The negative elements in the communique by the five ministers include, primarily, the one that is in obvious discrepancy with the situation in the field. Namely, there is no mention of a military response if the plan is rejected. The economic sanctions are inherently long term, but they are uncertain. The final deadline for the

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Serb side's response has twice been postponed. This shows a dangerous indecisiveness on the part of the international community. No time limit for the announced resolutions on the extension [words indistinct] and the implementation of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro has been set. The [word indistinct] resolution on the complete lifting of the sanctions if the Serbs accept the Contact Group's plan sounds like a reward. [Word indistinct] will obviously not stop the war in the Balkans, as has been seen on more than 50 occasions in the past three years. Despite all that, I can say that our response to the Contact Group's plan remains positive until further notice.

Finally, I would just like to say that our yes remains on the table because we stick to peace. We see a chance for Bosnia-Herzegovina only in peace. Therefore, our yes remains valid until further notice.

However, this does not mean that we will give in to the aggressor, or that we will expect assistance only from the international community. We will continue defending ourselves as before, with the help of the friends who are not indifferent to the crimes which continue to (?be committed).

Would you like to continue?

[Silajdzic] The situation is what it is in Bosnia-Herzegovina today because the international community did not react to the violation of the principle of the inviolability of borders. Unfortunately, this communique also failed to mention the protection of the borders with Serbia and Montenegro. We consider this to be the key to peace, not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but in the whole region. We hope that in the future the international community will take the necessary steps in that respect.

We are still called the Bosnian party. This indicates the unchanged attitude of the international community to aggression. The victim and the aggressor are one. On one side is the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina with its legal, democratic government, on the other side is the aggressor. They cannot be two sides. There is also imprecision regarding the name of our delegation which attended the Geneva talks. They call it the Bosnian-Croat delegation. It was not the Bosnian-Croat delegation. It was the state delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which also included the Serbs and not just the Bosniaks and the Croats.

On the other side we have the Bosnian Serb delegation and it seems to me that this term prejudices the solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina issue. We hope that these imprecise terms will be (?clarified) in the next communique of the Contact Group, if there should be one.

The government.... [pauses] The State of Bosnia-Herzegovina is an internationally recognized state. It is a member of the United Nations. If the parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina decides to send a delegation to Geneva it is a state delegation. [passage indistinct]

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Silajdzic] I think that we have included this in the positive sides of the communique. Of course [word indistinct] time limit of the sanctions because they have a long-term effect and their implementation is sometimes (?uncertain). Personally, I think that this is the best part of [word indistinct]. Of course, it all depends on their implementation, as the president said. We know very well that the sanctions are not being observed. If this trend continues they will have no effect.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Silajdzic] We are a country which was attacked and we have the legitimate right to defend ourselves. By accepting the peace plan, we have tried to ensure that peace is established. If this does not happen, if the other side remains persistent, the war will continue and we will, of course, have to defend ourselves. But the responsibility for the continuation of the war is [passage indistinct].

[Correspondent] It was reported less than one hour ago that two antitank shells had hit Dobrinja. There are reports that many people were wounded, perhaps even killed. What is your reaction?

[Izetbegovic] We see it as a bad sign that the aggression is continuing. Unless, of course, this was an action by some irresponsible elements. In any event, we will have to wait a while to see what the other side's final reaction to the Contact Group's communique of yesterday will be. We have not set the new deadline; They did, and that is what we consider to be a negative element in (?the communique).

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Izetbegovic] Our forces are capable of defending the territory they are holding. If the embargo is lifted, they will be able to liberate the occupied part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Under the current conditions, with the embargo on, the war could go on for a long time. That is why we decided to accept the plan although we consider it unjust. As I said before, peace gives a chance for the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the continuation of the war would lead to irreparable disintegration. This is why we insisted that they either accept the plan or that the arms embargo be lifted.

[Silajdzic] In any event, the choice does not lie with us. We have no choice. We can only defend ourselves. Those who started the war can stop it if they want to.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Izetbegovic] Yes, the Army is in a better position than six months ago, which means that it is better equipped (?than six months ago).

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[Correspondent] [passage on Gorazde indistinct]

[Izetbegovic] First of all, the ultimatum was never fully implemented. It was only partially implemented. We have also recently received reports that all weapons were temporarily withdrawn, but a certain number are now being brought back to the exclusion zone. We have warned both the UN Protection Force in Zagreb and the UN secretary general about it.

And, in response to your question, the danger threatening the enclaves in eastern Bosnia—Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde—was one of the reasons why we accepted the plan, although, in our opinion it is an unjust one. We understood that we could thus secure those enclaves. The Contact Group's promises were along these lines. Yesterday's communique clearly states that the protection of the enclaves will be stepped up and [words indistinct]. We are defending the enclaves with the forces deployed there, but the international community's protection is of essential importance for their safety.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Silajdzic] The negotiations are possible if the Serbs say yes to the Contact Group's plan, because after that there would be a lot of things that need to be elaborated. However, the condition is that they accept the plan.

Silajdzic Urges Wider Sarajevo Demilitarization

AU2907181394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] We held talks about the blue road across the airport. There is still no solution, but Mr. de Mello is travelling to Pale to discuss that problem, President Alija Izetbegovic told reporters after talks with Sergio de Mello, head of the civilian sector of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for former Yugoslavia.

We discussed various issues, the most important of which were the exchange of prisoners and the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is becoming very critical. We drew Mr. de Mello's attention to the fact that the UNHCR's warehouses are almost empty. We also discussed the incident that took place near the city, President Izetbegovic stressed.

Sergio de Mello stressed that, following the talks in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, he was going to Pale to try to find a solution for the opening of the blue road. This is our primary concern at the moment, and we will try to find an urgent solution. When on 17 March this year we agreed on the opening of these roads, many people were skeptical that the United Nations would carry it through. We not only managed to carry it through, but it has surpassed all expectations in the positive sense. The living conditions in Sarajevo and the freedom of movement in and out of the city have improved. That is why I think that the solution to these roads is a priority, de Mello told reporters.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic also received de Mello. After talks with him, Silajdzic said that the talks concerned the closing of the blue roads by the Serbian aggressor, sniper activity in the city, expulsion of citizens from Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Janja, and Rogatica, and the exchange of prisoners.

As for the exchange of prisoners, we insist on information about missing people. We have to have that information, otherwise we will not be able to [words indistinct] to the end. We do not understand why the aggressor has closed the blue roads. Is it to isolate Sarajevo and complicate the peace process? The observance of the agreement on the blue roads is to the advantage of both sides [words indistinct] to the original agreement and continue to implement that agreement.

As for sniper activity, we are ready to reach an agreement on that. However, in our view, it would be best to demilitarize the wider region of Sarajevo as soon as possible, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic told the reporters.

Christopher, Izetbegovic Discuss Geneva Decisions

LD3107134694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Late last night Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, spoke on the telephone with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Christopher informed President Izetbegovic about the decisions adopted by the ministerial meeting of the Contact Group countries, held on 30 July in Geneva. He confirmed the U.S. determination to fulfill its obligations stemming from the decisions, including the lifting of the arms embargo if the Serb side does not change is current position.

UNHCR Withdraws Staff From Serb-Held Areas

AU2907121394 Paris AFP in English 1133 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 29 (AFP)—The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] has temporarily pulled its staff out of Serb-held zones in Bosnia for safety reasons, a UNHCR official here told AFP.

"We have recalled our staff but our local employees have remained in post and our operations are continuing," said the official, who asked not to be named.

The length of time of the pull-out would depend on developments in the political situation, the official added.

Bosnian Serbs on Thursday again refused to back an international peace plan dividing up Bosnia, calling for more talks with the Bosnia contact group which drafted the blueprint and setting a string of conditions for the talks.

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Under the plan 51 percent of the country would go to the Croat-Moslem federation and 49 percent to the Serbs, who currently control some 70 percent of the former Yugoslav republic.

UNPROFOR: Blockade of Sarajevo Tightening

AU2907122894 Paris AFP in English 1211 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 29 (AFP)—The last "blue route" in Sarajevo has been closed by Bosnian Serbs, tightening the blockade of the Bosnian capital, a UN Protection Force spokesman said Friday.

The "blue routes" are routes open to civilians under an agreement reached by the warring parties.

However, a spokeswoman for the UN refugee organisation said the airlift into Sarajevo, which has been interrupted since July 22, could start up again next week.

She said the UNHCR was concerned about the food situation in the Bosnian capital "because we have been unable to send in a single convoy since June" and "there are only 10-days' worth of stocks left in town."

Two "blue routes" which lead to the airport, one of which served to bring supplies into Sarajevo, have been shut for several days.

The last route shut by the Serbs linked Sarajevo with Visoko, a town 50 kilometres (30 miles) northwest, across land controlled by the Bosnian Serbs. It was used exclusively by civilian buses.

"This is not good," said UN Protection Force spokesman Major Dacre Holloway, adding that the road had been closed for 48 hours but that the UN only received confirmation of the fact on Thursday.

The only road which now allows residents of the government-controlled sectors of Sarajevo to leave the city is across the Brotherhood and Unity bridge in the city centre which leads to a Serb-controlled quarter.

The bridge was still open to pedestrians on Friday and access to it was protected by French UN soldiers. According to a Bosnian policeman, 10 people used it Friday morning.

Separately, the UNHCR spokeswoman in Geneva said the organisation's two officials who were stopped Tuesday by Serbs at the Visegrad control point, in eastern Bosnia, had been "forced to leave."

The two were released by the Serbs, but were refusing to return to Gorazde unless they were allowed to take a Moslem women they had been escorting.

The spokeswoman said the woman "is still being held but she is in good physical shape."

UN Official Optimistic

LD2907224294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The head of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] civilian department, Sergio de Mello, returned to Sarajevo after visiting Pale. He met again with Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Mehmedalija Sisic has the report.

[Sisic] After the talks at the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sergio de Mello told reporters:

[Begin de Mello recording with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I wish to say that I had a short meeting with President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic; also I visited Pale where we examined several subjects—the opening of the roads was only one of the problems. We made an in-depth analysis of the question of prisoners, in conformity with the agreement of 8 June, as well as sniper activity. We needed several months to reach agreement on the cessation of these activities in the Sarajevo area.

There have been intimations from both sides on the existence of goodwill to resolve these problems.

We shall work tirelessly to produce results—this particularly applies to these three problems. I do not wish to be more specific, but I hope that we shall find a positive solution in the near future. [end recording]

Asked by reporters whether there will be more talks tomorrow, Sergio de Mello replied: We shall keep on talking tomorrow and the day after and as long as it takes for us to reach agreement on these three problems.

Have the Serbs set any conditions for opening the roads, the reporters asked next:

There have been no conditions, but what had compelled them to make such a decision had nothing to do with the initial agreement. We are working to ensure that no roads are blocked again, because it is extremely difficult to reopen them, and this was one of the great steps forward in Bosnia-Herzegovina this year.

I have never been a pessimist about whether or not we will open them and I am a somewhat greater optimist now than I was yesterday.

Koljevic Links Road Reopening, POW Exchange

LD2907214694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2014 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb republic, told SRNA News Agency this evening that blue paths across Sarajevo Airport would be reopened only when the implementation of an agreement on the exchange of POWs, as agreed earlier with the Muslim side, begins.

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Koljevic added that this also referred to other blue paths.

The Serb republic vice president held talks in Pale today with General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sergio de Mello, head of UNPROFOR civilian sector for the former Yugoslavia. Their talks focused on the situation created in the wake of the partial closure of roads across Sarajevo Airport.

Following the talks, Koljevic told SRNA that the Serb side is keen to see that the Muslims comply with an agreement on a complete exchange of POWs, after which talks on the reopening of the paths across the airport will resume, which is in the interest of the civilian population on both sides.

In conclusion Koljevic expressed the hope that a UNPROFOR-sponsored meeting with the Muslim side will take place at Sarajevo Airport very soon.

Contact Group Reaches Agreement on 'Threats'

LD2907225794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2235 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Geneva, July 29 (TANJUG)—After two days of consultations, experts of Western powers and Russia have agreed about what threats to use on Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslavia in case of the former's non-compliance with the powers' plan for Bosnia.

The experts are advisors to a "contact group" for Bosnia, which comprises Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany.

Sources close to the Russian mission to the United Nations said Friday that the statement which would be submitted to the contact group ministers for approval Saturday would not demand Bosnian Moslems' exemption from a U.N. arms ban against former Yugoslavia.

This is a concession made by the Western powers to Russia, the sources said.

At the meeting Friday afternoon, Russia insisted that Belgrade had taken a highly positive attitude to the contact group's plan for dividing Bosnia, with President Slobodan Milosevic trying to induce the Bosnian Serbs to accept the plan, the sources said.

Russia is dissatisfied with the attitude of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and the Bosnian Serb national assembly, they added.

The national assembly Thursday reaffirmed its position stated in a July 19 declaration that it could not rule on the contact group's plan without knowing all the facts, including constitutional arrangements for a future state.

As a result, Russia will agree with the contact group proposal that the Security Council vote in place a resolution tightening U.N. sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro and the Serbs in general, informed sources said.

The resolution should also expand the role of NATO in securing U.N.-designated "safe havens" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the sources added.

However, Russia will try also to make room for further peace talks.

Western sources here claim that Russia has fully agreed with the view that the Bosnian Serb parliament has actually rejected the plan.

The draft resolution on tightening the sanctions is expected here to include a provision on limiting the operation of Yugoslav companies abroad, but not a demand for severing telecommunications, which has been the subject of much speculation lately.

Neither U.S. nor Russian sources expect any great differences to come to light among the partners in the contact group at their ministerial meeting here Saturday.

'Cool Response' to Contact Group Declaration

AU3007202694 Paris AFP in English 2014 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 30 (AFP)—Bosnian authorities and media gave a cool response Saturday [30 July] to the international contact group's call for tougher sanctions against the Serbs over their refusal to accept the latest Bosnian peace plan.

In his first statement on the five-nation contact group's declaration Saturday, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said "I cannot say I am completely satisfied." He added he would make a fuller statement at a press conference Sunday.

Radio Sarajevo said the declaration by the British, French, German, Russian and U.S. foreign ministers "showed again the lack of determination by the international community to halt aggression against our country."

A Bosnian official who declined to be named, told AFP "What counts is action, not words." He added that a stronger UN response to recent Serb provocations was needed.

The contact group agreed on in Geneva Saturday to call on the UN Security Council to strengthen sanctions against Serbia, after the Serbs rejected the peace plan.

The group also stressed that a decision to lift the arms embargo to allow a flow of weapons into Bosnia, "could become unavoidable" if the Serbs persisted in rejecting the partition plan.

That would allow the Croat-Moslem federation, at present outgunned by their Serb enemies, easy access to more arms.

The Bosnian official added that tougher sanctions would be unlikely to work in practice, suggesting goods could easily pass across poorly policed frontiers with Bulgaria and Greece.

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"If the sanctions were respected the Serbs' survival would be an economic miracle" he added.

He also condemned what he saw as a half-hearted response by the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to recent acts of Serb aggression against its own personnel.

Citing the case of a British convoy ambushed in the capital's heavy arms exclusion zone last week, he said the attack, which killed one UN soldier, was made with a field gun and the perpetrators were known.

This should in theory have triggered a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation air strike in line with an ultimatum earlier this year for all heavy arms to be removed from the zone, the official said.

Under the terms of the contact group plan, the Bosnian Serbs would retain 49 percent of territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while 51 percent would go to the Croat-Moslem federation. The Serbs currently control around 70 percent of the former Yugoslav republic.

Casualties Reported in Inter-Muslim Fighting

LD3007162494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] At least 100 people have been killed and some 500 seriously or lightly wounded in the last two days in the fighting on the front lines in western Bosnia between the units of Bosnia-Herzegovina army and Fikret Abdic's forces. These figures have been released by the hospital in Cazin, a town under the control of the Bosnian Army. There are no reports yet on the losses on Abdic's side, but it is assumed that they are also very high.

Muslim Clashes Reported; UN Troops Under Fire

LD3107135194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 31 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, July 31 (TANJUG)—The heaviest inter-Moslem fighting took place overnight in the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia (APWB) with United Nations peacekeepers coming under fire, local media reported Sunday.

Clashes between supporters of moderate APWB leader Fikret Abdic and loyalists of hardline leader Alija Izetbegovic were the fiercest around Pecigrad and Liskovac, the APWB-controlled Radio Velkaton said. The same source said APWB troops had repelled all the attacks, leaving many casualties among Izetbegovic's extremists.

This was confirmed Saturday by a U.N. spokesman who said that at least 100 Izetbegovic's troops had been killed and 500 wounded in the past two weeks of fierce inter-Moslem fighting.

REUTERS quoted members of the French U.N. battalion deployed around Bihac in western Bosnia, that U.N. peacekeepers in the area had twice come under fire during the fighting.

"On Thursday two shells fell on our radio relay station near Skokovi. Our commander decided to evacuate 15 soldiers from the building which was shelled for another two hours and was extensively damaged," said Major Jean Francois Philippe.

"On Friday afternoon two mortar rounds were fired at a French convoy. There were no casualties or damage," he added. Major Philippe said U.N. troops decided not to return fire since it was unclear from where the rounds were fired.

Heavy inter-Moslem fighting broke out last September after Fikret Abdic proclaimed the APWB, which Izetbegovic interpreted as "splitting Bosnia" and sent his loyalists to intervene.

Serbs Attack Sarajevo With Mortars, Rockets

AU0108093394

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 1 August within its regular 7-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in the republics.

A studio announcer reads a report that "last night in Sarajevo, and particularly in its suburbs, explosions were heard caused by mortar bombs and rockets fired from portable launchers. The [Serbian] enemy used mortars to fire from the Rajlovac barracks at Sokolje, from the direction of Mijatovica Kosa at Zabrdje, and from Nedzarici at Stup hill. Portable rocket launchers were fired from the Rajlovac barracks at Sokolje, [words indistinct] at the defense lines, and from Nedzarici at Dobrinja Five. The enemy used antiaircraft machine guns from the Rajlovac barracks to fire at Sokolje, and from Orlovac to shoot on [name indistinct] and Pionirska Dolina. An enemy sniper was treacherously operating in Hromolje last night, occasionally firing on Hasan Brkic Street, [word indistinct], and the Maternity Hospital. The intense movements of (?enemy) military vehicles and the regrouping of men has continued unabated."

Mirza Sadikovic reports from the Bihac region that "the war [word indistinct] unfortunately continues in the Bihac region" and that "overnight, Karadzic's Chetniks shelled the outskirts of Cazin and [name indistinct], and [words indistinct] last night intensified artillery attacks on the Cazin town region, the regions of Pjanici, Lipovac, Skokovi, and (Tecingrad), as well as the newly liberated regions in the Velika Kladusa commune. At the same time, (?helped by) [words indistinct] Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, the rebels of the war criminal Fikret Abdic continued their insane attacks mainly on the separation lines."

Abdulah Vitanovic reports that "the aggressor's assaults on the defense lines of the free Kalesija territory continued yesterday and overnight. Dozens of destructive shells were fired on the most densely populated (?village)

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regions and [words indistinct] on the defenders' positions." He adds that "early this morning, the enemy continued his provocative attacks. Some 25 minutes after midnight [2225 GMT on 31 July], the enemy fiercely attacked the defense lines and the center of Kalesija with a (?Praga weapon) and an antiaircraft gun. Along with offensive artillery assaults, the enemy carried out a regrouping of men and hardware, particularly in the (Livaca) region [words indistinct]."

Serbian Snipers Wound 2 Persons on Sarajevo Tram

AU2907191194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps Information Service reports that three civilians were wounded today by snipers firing from the enemy positions. Two of our fellow citizens were wounded on the tram near the museum. The shot was fired from the skyscraper on the left bank of the Miljacka River, from where the criminals had kept Marijin Dvor and [word indistinct] under sniper fire throughout the day. One person was wounded in Hladivode.

The enemy has been keeping up the usual provocative small arms fire along the entire demarcation line, with occasional hand grenades and shells from hand-propelled rocker launchers.

Intensified movement of military vehicles was again registered today, particularly on the Pale-Vogosca road.

UN General Interviewed on Rising Tension

LD3107204594 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Interview with General Soubirou, commander of UN forces in Sarajevo, in Sarajevo by announcer Paul Amar in Paris—live]

[Text] [Amar] Let us go over live to Sarajevo and speak to General Soubirou, commander of the UN troops in Sarajevo. Good evening, Gen. Soubirou.

[Soubirou] Good evening, Paul Amar.

[Amar] Thank you for responding to our invitation. Can we say this evening that there has been an upsurge in incidents and tension in Sarajevo, and in its surroundings?

[Soubirou] Certainly. Tension has been rising fast for a week. We were expecting it, but of course we deplore the level of the upsurge in tension. I would like to say that in this difficult situation the troops who are here, in particular the 3,000 French troops, are demonstrating great coolness and total determination to control the rise of this pressure.

[Amar] The UN troops have often been attacked by the Serbs. In particular UN convoys; we saw this recently with the death of a British soldier. Do you think this was a mistake, or did the Serbs deliberately fire at the peacekeeping troops?

[Soubirou] It is quite clear: They deliberately attacked the British convoy. We intervened to protect this convoy and to get it out of danger. But every day we are undertaking actions combining dialogue and firmness. And this is the conduct we believe in, as peace-keeping troops.

[Amar] But, general, what does this mean, firmness? Does firmness mean allowing yourself to be fired at like that, when you are a soldier? You are a soldier of peace today, but when you are just an ordinary soldier?

[Soubirou] No, Mr. Amar, I don't think we are people who let ourselves be fired at. We have rules of engagement, and when we are attacked, we respond, but we respect the rule of proportion. Unfortunately, we have been doing this every day for several weeks.

[Amar] General Soubirou, is there a danger of our returning to the situation as it was before the cease-fire? In other words, is firmness, even as expressed by the great powers, completely useless?

[Soubirou] We have not returned today to the situation as it was before 5 February. It is true that the number of snipers and the number of wounded in the town has increased, but I would like to stress the fact that for nearly six months no one has been wounded by artillery shells. This is a great success, and I think that the Sarajevans acknowledge their debt to the UN protection Force [UNPROFOR], to the UNPROFOR soldiers, for this.

[Amar] General, if the great powers keep up their pressure on the Serbs, if, at the end of this pressure, given the obstinacy of the Bosnian Serbs, the arms embargo is finally lifted—that is one possibility—what will the consequences be, from a strictly military point of view, from where you are on the ground?

[Soubirou] The lifting of the arms embargo, as you can well imagine, will mean more war in this country. And we wonder what point the peace-keeping soldiers there would then have.

[Amar] Thank you very much for speaking to us live from Sarajevo, General Soubirou.

Greek Foreign Minister Meets With Karadzic

LD2907163694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—"I have heard very interesting arguments from Karadzic and I have hopes of the possibility of reaching a positive solution in Geneva in respect of approaching peace," Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Karolos Papoulias stated in Pale today following four hours of talks with a delegation of the Serb republic led by President Radovan Karadzic.

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"The goal of my visit was an exchange of views ahead of the forthcoming meeting in Geneva," the Greek foreign minister said in a brief press statement following the meeting.

"I presume that our Greek friends support us," President Karadzic said in his statement for the media. "We elaborated on our declaration, explaining to our guest how the document should be interpreted".

I believe that Mr. Papoulias will give a faithful interpretation of our standpoints to the contact group, Karadzic added, saying "if the contact group has good intentions, the peace process can be salvaged and continued."

Karadzic stressed that the Serb side today continued to abide by its firm orientation not to allow NATO forces to deploy in any part of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Following these brief statements, both Karadzic and Papoulias avoided giving direct replies which would more precisely describe the content of their talks.

Immediately afterwards, the Greek foreign minister left for Belgrade, from where he is to leave for Geneva this afternoon.

Mostar Administrator To Appoint Serbian Officials

LD2907165694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The EU administrator of Mostar, Hans Koschnick, has continued consultations on the first tasks in the restoration and unification of the city. Zdenko Vranjes reporting for Croatian Radio from Mostar.

[Vranjes] The composition of the advisory council of the EU administration in Mostar will be known on Monday. This body will be Koschnick's main source of help in administrating the town. Until then the Croat and the Muslim side will appoint five representatives each, while Koschnick will appoint three representatives of Mostar's Serbs—out of the six who were put forward by the Serb community of Mostar—as well as one Jewish representative and one representative for others.

According to Koschnik this advisory body should start, as soon as Monday, discussing the administration of the bridges and the restoration of the waterworks and power lines. Koschnick will attend together with the mayors of east and west Mostar, Rajkovic and Orucevic, the opening of bungalows in the east part of town where orphans will be housed. The bungalows have been built by the Spanish Government.

Pejanovic Decries Karadzic Peace Plan Response

LD3007160994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] Pale's no to the world community's peace plan adds a new, dangerous dimension to the situation, which treatens to result in an escalation of the war. In our approach to this problem, we must make sure we discern between the war-mongering and embattled leadership in Pale and the Serb people.

This was said in a statement for BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA PRESS by Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and chairman of the Serb Civic Council.

Karadzic's headquarters is [words indistinct], Pejanovic said. The majority of the common people on Karadzic's territory are in favor of the truce and the establishment of peace. The Serb people have been misled and double-crossed yet again. The solution offered them is to fight on, which spells more death and a war waged against the world community.

This is a stunt the international community must not swallow for two reasons: The interest of the Serb and all other nations in peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for the sake of its reputation and credibility.

The question arises, will Karadzic's 600,000 Serbs dictate conditions to the international community, or will the international community enforce a solution leading to peace, Pejanovic said.

Asked what should now be done, Pejanovic replied: First, the UN Security Council should decide to proclaim the contact group's plan as the plan of the international community; a decision should then be made on military pressure on Karadzic's Serbs with the aim of implementing the peace plan. These decisions must [passage indistinct] opening the roads, international supervision of the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the withdrawal of Karadzic's forces to the borders envisaged by the peace plan, the UN's administration of Sarajevo, and international guarantees for the return of refugees.

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Granic Discusses Restructuring Armed Forces

LD2907191594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Minister for Foreign Affairs Mate Granic today spoke at the international conference on restructuring armed forces in the new democracies of central and eastern and southeastern Europe. The two-day conference ended today in Zagreb. He drew attention to the gravest Croatian problem: the occupied areas. As he explained in his statement after the conference, it is unjust that it is precisely this fact that is the main obstacle to Croatia signing up for NATO's Partnership for Peace program.

A necessary precondition for a quick and peaceful reintegration of the UN Protected Areas in line with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions is a change to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate and UNPROFOR's control of Croatian borders, Mate Granic stressed in his address to the conference. Minister Granic said that Croatia has demonstrated its peaceful political orientation by accepting a large number of plans drawn up by international factors.

[Begin Granic recording] I was speaking about this today. I said that it was unjust that the aggression on the part of Serbia is in fact the main threat barring Croatia from joining and signing an agreement for the Partnership for Peace. [end recording]

Minister Granic said that there is an increasing number of NATO member-countries which firmly support Croatia's joining the Partnership for Peace program. Such conferences, too, create an atmosphere conducive to this aim. Dieter Schmidt, the director of the organizing institute, stressed that it is obvious that democracy is operational in Croatia, something that is borne out by the fact that the army is under the control of a president of the state, government and parliament. [passage omitted]

Susak on Partnership for Peace

LD2907165494 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 28 Jul 94

[Interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by Damir Matkovic in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] [Matkovic] Good evening, esteemed listeners. The third two-day international conference on the reorganization of armed forces in young democracies of central, eastern and southeastern Europe opened in Zagreb today. [passage omitted]

[Damir Matkovic] Minister, you mentioned several times in the course of your lecture today Croatia's openness to the world and its need to be included in international and military cooperation. You also mentioned the training of Croatian officers abroad as something very important for the organization of the new Croatian Army, since Croatia never had an army before.

[Susak] I wished to emphasize the importance of NATO's concept of Partnership for Peace as something which could be of help in the reorganization and in the creation of armed forces in newly-born democracies. If indeed it can be of help then we need it today, when we are in the process of creating our army, and not in a year or two or three, when this Army is already developed. That is one thing. The other thing is that Croatia does not have military academies. We have some personnel from the former JNA [Yugoslav Army]. We have a large number of officers who have been battle-tested in the Patriotic War but have no military training. We have tried, but because of the embargo failed to get any response from the countries to which we would have liked to send our personnel for training.

However, the present visit of the U.S. defense minister is a guarantee that we will have an opportunity in autumn to send Croatian officers and NCO's to American military academies. We also had a serious offer from Turkey where Croatian officers could train in NATO schools. Within the framework of NATO we will most likely have an opportunity to send our officers to German schools with help from the United States. [passage omitted]

[Matkovic] Minister, can you tell us when Croatia could be ready to join Partnership for Peace. We heard about general conditions.

[Susak] This is difficult to assess. The stumbling block for Croatia's admission into Partnership for Peace are UNPAs [UN Protected Areas] and not any of the processes mentioned by the gentleman. The fact that Croatia was chosen to host this conference shows that those in Partnership for Peace are already counting on us. However, the danger of the neither-war-nor-peace situation in the UNPAs is something which.... [pauses] And our friends in both the United States and Germany are trying to tell us that it will take some time before an agreement can be reached. But this is not stopping Croatia in some other way. Although not a full member, it enjoys in some other way all the things which such a concept can offer. I wish to reiterate that the working visit of the U.S. defense minister and the subjects we discussed indicate that the situation is much more favorable for Croatia. [passage omitted]

Croat Troops Concentrate on Serb Krajina Border

LD2907173094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 29 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, July 29 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb sources said Friday that Croatia was massing troops near the republic of Serb Krajina.

The Bosnian Serb sources in Banja Luka said the Croatian Army had set up a training centre for elite troops near Karlovac, 50 km southwest of Zagreb and just outside Krajina territory. Croatian Army troops have already been deployed around the town of Ogulin,

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80 km southwest of Zagreb, as well as in the nearby mountain region of Gorski Kotar and in the area around the town of Pakrac about 100 km southeast of Zagreb.

Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia set up the independent republic of Serb Krajina in 1991, when Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslavia and eliminated Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution. Krajina was placed under United Nations protection in March 1992.

Military sources in Banja Luka say the concentrations of Croatian troops near Serb Krajina is connected with the Croatian blockade of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia.

U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali proposed Thursday that the U.N. Security Council take action against Croatia for having allowed refugees to block U.N. peacekeeping operations since July 1. U.N. officials have said that Croatian authorities are supporting the blockade of the U.N. peacekeepers who are deployed to separate Croatian and Serb Krajina troops.

The U.N. Security Council said Thursday it shared the secretary general's concern about the blockade and said it would continue to monitor the situation.

The Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA said Friday that Croatia chose to perform a combined tactical exercise on the island of Vir off Zadar three days ago because the Krajina terrain in the Dalmatian hinterland is similar to that found on the island. The paper's military commentator said the exercise was aimed at "combining speed and efficiency of all branches and key services of the Croatian Army ... making possible the undertaking of comprehensive offensive actions."

The commentator said the exercise reflected tha spirit of the Foreign Legion and described the origins of some of the instructors. The exercise was meant to impress not only Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, but also future NATO allies, the author said. The Split daily said along with the Serbs, some of the neighbours in the region, in particular Italy, would also be interested in the military exercise.

Tudjman, who was present at the exercise, used the occasion to once again speak of the possibility of military action against the Krajina Serbs.

New 'Aggression' Foreseen

LD3007174994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 30 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, July 30 (TANJUG)—Krajina Assembly President Branko Vojnica said on Saturday that the "blockade of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and Croatian military exercise on the island of Vir indicate a new Croatian aggression on the republic of Serb Krajina."

"Threats to Serbs from the highest organs and pressures on the international public indicate that Croatia is digging up the battle-axe for the autumn finale," Vojnica told the TANJUG correspondent.

The blockade of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia was allegedly begun by Croatian refugees from Krajina on July 1, but official Zagreb has been behind the action since the very beginning. This is an assessment by UNPROFOR representatives, who pointed out on several occasions that the blockade prevents them from carrying out their peace mission—the separation of Krajina and Croatia forces.

According to Saturday's reports, the blockade is still on at most points. Through the blockade, Zagreb is trying to pressure the international community to change the mandate of UNPROFOR and thus enable the Croatian Army to enforce its power in Krajina.

The U.N. Security Council on Thursday evening expressed concern at the blockade of the UNPROFOR mission in Croatia.

As a result of the blockade, Croatian forces are moving without any control and deploying new units and weaponry in the zones of separation. Krajina President Milan Martic warned against this last week.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in their ancestral lands in Croatia in answer to the forcible secession of this former Yugoslav republic and the degradation of Serbs to the status of a national minority.

Although Krajina has been protected by U.N. troops since the spring of 1992, Croatia attacked it on four occasions attempting to restore its power there by force.

Vojnica said that any new Croatian attack on Krajina would be considered an act of aggression, regardless of how others saw it.

"We shall reply using all available means, because we have no choice and cannot go anywhere," Vojnica said.

The Croatian Army held an exercise on the Adriatic island of Vir near Zadar earlier this week. The terrain on the island is very similar to the Dalmatian hinterland which belongs to Krajina.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who visited the island at the time, indicted the possibility of a new military action against Krajina Serbs.

Threats Against Krajina

LD3007154994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 30 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, July 30 (TANJUG)—Croatian official Jure Radic has threatened that Croatia would impose its authority in the U.N.-Protected Area of Krajina using force if it fails to do so peacefully. Radic is the head of

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the cabinet of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and secretary-general of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union.

The war option has a price—human lives, Radic said in an interview to the Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. However, if the peaceful process does not show any results or give hope that an integral, free and sovereign state will be formed in due time, then we shall have to resort to arms "regardless of the price", Radic said.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in their ancestral lands in Croatia in answer to the forcible secession of this former Yugoslav republic and the degradation of Serbs to the status of a national minority. Although Krajina has been protected by U.N. troops since the Spring of 1992, Croatia attacked it on four occasions attempting to restore its power there by force.

We have been entrusted with the task to create Croatia and we must carry out the task using any means. We must not allow a situation to be created which will result in a war that our children will have to fight, he said. In spite of all this, Croatia gives priority to a peaceful solution, but it requires much more time, Radic said.

Croatia now has "the strength to say that this is the last such mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) (in Krajina)," Radic said. Croatia will attempt, diplomatically, to achieve such a mandate of the peace troops which will enable "the establishment of legal order in the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia," he said.

Croatia wishes to impose its power in Krajina with the help of UNPROFOR, although the peace plan drawn up by international mediator Cyrus Vance specified that Krajina was outside Croatia's jurisdiction. Under the plan, peacekeepers should be deployed there until a political solution to the conflict is reached.

In the past month, Croatia has launched a political and media campaign against UNPROFOR, whose mandate is due to expire on September 30. As part of this campaign, Croatian refugees from Krajina have been blocking UNPROFOR since July 1, but the operation is actually organized and supported by the Croatian authorities, as UNPROFOR representatives have said on several occasions.

Police 'Controlling' UNPROFOR Vehicles

LD2907132894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] After the withdrawal of refugees, the Croatian police this morning began controlling the traffic of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] vehicles at the checkpoint in (Mostanje).

According to the Karlovac police commissioner, Dubravko Derko, each vehicle entering or leaving the UN-protected areas must be announced in advance and have a permit by the government's office for relations with UNPROFOR. All vehicles must register the number of passengers and exact specification of goods they are transporting. The Croatian police check the permits, searches the vehicles, and allows their passage. Buses carrying passengers to Velika Kladusa [Fikret Abdic's stronghold in western Bosnia] on the weekends must also have permits, the Karlovac police commissioner said.

Refugees To Continue Blockades

LD2907215194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] The Croatian community of refugees' headquarters for the implementation of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] blockade reached a decision at its session in Osijek today that the blockade of 14 official and all unofficial crossings from the free into the occupied areas of the republic continues.

It was said at the session that the transportation of goods via those crossings, the blockade of which has been lifted, was being supervised by the Croatian police in line with strict instructions issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Every vehicle leaving or entering the protected areas has to be announced in advance and has to have a permit from the government's office for liaison with UNPROFOR.

Despite the lifting of the blockade, reports on the ground show that UNPROFOR is still trying to cross the minor crossings. So the Croatian community of refugees' headquarters has authorized county headquarters to decide for themselves on the possible granting of permission to UNPROFOR to pass through in exceptional circumstances. If UNPROFOR is found to be in violation of the agreement reached, the refugees will again blockade all the crossings. This will be decided by the main headquarters. It was concluded that refugees would remain at all crossings, apart from those where the blockade has been lifted, until demands, forwarded to the Croatian Government, UNPROFOR, and the United Nations, have been met, i.e. until the return of refugees begins.

UNPROFOR Blockade Seen Hurting Serbs

94P21037A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 94 p 6

[Article by Snjezana Canic and Mirko Sajler: "Combines Idle in UNPA"]

[Excerpt] Osijek—The blockade of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] control points along with the prevention of deliveries of oil and goods that are in short supply in the occupied territories of Croatia have accelerated the collapse of the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], as reported by the Serbian media in the UNPA. Combines in Baranja, eastern Slavonia, are idle. They cannot harvest even the small amount of wheat that was sown because they lack fuel.

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Over "Serbian Radio of Okucani," Dusan Vitez, chairman of some kind of "Regional Council of the West Slavonia Autonomous Region," criticized the inefficiency of UNPROFOR and demanded "the use of force in breaking the blockade on the Croatian side."

Obviously, Serbs lack many things that UNPROFOR has provided by smuggling them from the free territory of Croatia. Life in the occupied territories is on the verge of collapse. This would have occurred even faster were it not for the holes in the exiles' blockade that the peace forces exploit, according to popular opinion. UNPROFOR uses secondary roads, but it cannot transport the same quantities of oil products and other material as before.

However, it is a matter of concern that now UNPROFOR convoys from Croatia cross into Hungary and from there into the so-called Krajina. At the border crossing in Donji Miholjac, the head of the UNPROFOR convoy shows a permit from the proper Croatian authorities allowing freight transport to "third countries." In this regard, the Association of Croatian Exiles has sent a protest to the Croatian Government and issued a public statement asking, "Since when are the occupied areas of Croatia classified as 'third countries'?"

While the exiles in 35 degree Celsius heat are blocking the passage of UNPROFOR to point out the unbearable situation, many other people object to the fact that UNPROFOR is allowed to cross the Croatian-Hungarian border to deliver goods to the occupied territories of Croatia. [passage omitted]

Croat Police Evict Muslim Refugees From Borozija

LD2907215794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2049 GMT 29 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Umag, July 29 (TANJUG)—Croatian police on Friday forcibly evicted 1,100 refugees, mostly Moslems from Bosnia, from Borozija camp near Umag on the northern Adriatic coast.

The Moslems had been living in bungalows presented to Croatia by Belgium. Now, however, Croatia is making room for Croatian refugees who are expected to arrive here these days from around Kakanj in Bosnia. The expected Bosnian Croat refugees are also to be settled in homes in nearby Savudrija, which over 1,400 Bosnian Moslem refugees refuse to leave.

In order to force the Moslems to leave their newly-found homes, the local Croatian authorities have sealed off the area, preventing [words indistinct] and cutting off electricity and water. Armed policemen are guarding the area and preventing all contacts of the refugees with the public.

Following the agreement to form a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in March this year, Croatia started to strip Bosnian Moslems in Croatia of their refugee status.

The new Croatian authorities first acted against around 8,000 Moslems who had fled from the area of Mostar, a town in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina. They were stripped of their refugee status already in April.

Muslim Refugees Arrive in Travnik; Town Shelled

LD3007204894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] Three hundred new Muslim refugees have arrived in Travnik; they are all from Banja Luka, from where they were expelled by the Bosnian Serb authorities.

It has been learned that the Bosnian Serbs shelled Travnik this evening. More than 20 shells landed in the center of town. Nine wounded citizens have been hospitalized, while one person died on the way to the local hospital.

Krajina Leader To Visit Russia, Italy

LD3107150394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Kragujevac, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] told Kragujevac Radio today that a RSK delegation will visit Moscow.

"We reached agreements with Mr. Pavel Grachev on all important issues, and, at the same time, as President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, he invited us to visit Moscow and we accepted the invitation with pleasure. We will pay a visit, which will be both state and economic in character, very soon," Mikelic said.

Asked when he will go to Italy where he has been invited, and why he did not go at the end of last week, Mikelic said that no date was set for the visit, but that it will take place soon.

He added that he has written to Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, expressing a wish to meet him during his visit to Italy.

Tudjman Addresses Islanders on Emigrants Day

LD3107161794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] We are starting our news bulletin with a report from the island of Susak near Losinj which has been very festive today. Cultural, entertainment, and sporting events are marking the traditional Susak emigrants day, which is jointly celebrated every year by emigrants from the island of Susak and their hosts, through the sponsorship of the organization of Croatian emigrants. Many

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guests, including Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, honored the celebration with their presence. Ivan Katalin has prepared a report from Susak:

[Katalin] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman honored the celebration of the Susak emigrants day, which is for the 10th time taking place today on this sandy and exotic island, organized by the population of Susak, both the current residents of the island and those islanders who in great numbers emigrated to the United States.

President Tudjman had a separate meeting on the island of Susak with the leadership of the municipality of Mali Losinj that comprises numerous islands, and following a visit to Donje Selo and Gornje Selo he addressed those assembled. Speaking about the reasons for the neglected state of our islands, Tudjman said:

[Begin Tudjman recording] We did not have our free Croatian state, neither did we have the policy that took care of all parts of Croatia, including such a pearl as the island of Susak. Therefore, Susak was increasingly deserted, the people had to abandon it, as nobody took care of its economic and cultural problems. Be convinced that the free and independent Croatia will now take all measures, you who remained on Susak, and also your fellow islanders who moved abroad, that we will breathe new life into Susak.

Today, when we heard that your main problem is the waterfront, together with our ministers I promised you that you will get the waterfront [applause]. [end recording]

[Katalin] About the possibilities and the need to build our islands and Croatia, President Tudjman told the assembled islanders and other guests:

[Begin Tudjman recording] But let me tell you, you know the old saying—help yourself and then God will help you. [laughter] Therefore, [Tudjman laughs] we have to build Susak and the whole of Croatia together. Both Susak and Croatia will be like us. We will have to provide for the return of our people from abroad, reasons will no longer exist for them to leave, be it from Susak or any other part of the Croatian homeland. Because, it is not only our national anthem Our Beautiful Homeland, really there is no country as beautiful as our Croatia. Now that we have our Croatian authorities, that we have our freedom, our independence, sovereignty, that we have a Croatia that has friends and allies including the biggest world powers, on one side of the globe the United States, on the other—China. This world needs Croatia. This Croatia will offer each citizen an opportunity to live. [sentence as heard]

Therefore, we are going to provide conditions for the people to return, as we have already done, thousands of our citizens have already returned to their homeland, they have already taken their places not only within the ranks of the Croatian Army, but also in the government. Therefore, we are creating conditions that our Croatia, in line with our anthem, should be not only beautiful, but also to be a country of happiness, freedom, welfare, richness for our people; but this depends on us. [applause]

I am calling on you, the citizens of Susak who are in the far away United States or elsewhere and you living here, to talk to them on what contribution they can make to the revitalization of Susak, that these vineyards that used to have more than 1.8 million vine plants, and now there are only 6,000. [sentence as heard] Therefore, these vineyards should be renewed, tourist facilities ought to be built, life on this island should be created as on all other islands. Susak should be involved in the reconstruction of Croatia. Talk to them. It will be more pleasant for them, not only when they earn their pensions, but also to those younger generations to return to their Susak, to their Croatia. [end recording]

[Katalin] The celebration of the Susak emigrants day is continuing with cultural, entertainment, and sporting events. The celebration is being attended, in addition to numerous guests, tourists, islanders from the municipalities of Cres and Mali Losinj, and all the permanent residents of the island of Susak, by 250 people from Susak who have came here from the United States, as representatives of nearly 2,000 Susak emigrants.

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UN Envoy Calls Minority Rights 'Improved'

LD2907201994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Skopje, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—The position of national minorities in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] has improved lately, although I have been told by Albanian and Serbian representatives that this progress was minimal and that problems still abound, especially in education—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UN secretary general's special human rights envoy, said at a news conference in Skopje this afternoon.

Mazowiecki, who has just ended his official two-day visit to Macedonia, also said that the nonexistence of laws on the freedom of expression and the media had a very negative impact on national, human, and civil rights and liberties.

Mazowiecki today was received separately by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and parliament speaker Stojan Andov.

Serb Smugglers Cross FYROM Border With Ease

94P21035A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 20 Jul 94 p 5

[Article by Demush Bajrami: "More Than 16,000 Serbian Travellers Go to Macedonia"]

[Text] This past weekend, about 4,500 cars and more than 16,000 travellers went through the Tabanovce (Kumanovo) border crossing point to the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] while 3,000 cars and more than 13,500 travellers went out of the republic.

We have been told that a large number of these transitting travellers are Serbs who are going to Greece for a vacation or returning from Greece after a vacation and others are Macedonians who are working outside the country.

All the customs formalities in this border control point are said to be executed quickly on this side of the border while there are monotonous waits, of six to 12 hours, on the other side of the border, the Serbian side, according to some travellers.

We should add something here about the many cases of mistreatment of citizens on both sides of the border, especially those of Albanian nationality who are subjected to provocations by Macedonian customs oficers. Such behavior is irritating to innocent citizens who, because of close family ties and other situations, are obliged to be frequent visitors to the Tabanovc border control point. Albanian emigres have been subjected to abuses and plundering by Serbian customs officers. Tens of thousands of German marks and other foreign currencies have been stolen from them.

For persons crossing the border there is another irritating aspect: the Serbian travellers (who, in the majority of cases in Macedonia, are involved in smuggling gasoline) do not have to wait in long lines to cross the border. Obviously, this is done with the approval of the customs officer or of the Macedonian police. However, only in rare instances can an Albanian traveller cross the border as rapidly as a Serbian traveller. Since the Serbs are the most numerous (and most frequent) visitors to Macedonia, they can carry on their contraband activity freely. The fees they have to pay to their state (Serbia) are not very significant for them. They reap their profits in abundance by smuggling and they are not prevented by anyone as long as the Albanians pay the daily toll, with large sums of foreign currency earned in exile.

So far, no one has seen fit to react to such actions which are escalating and which are taking on the appearance of ethnic disparagement and insults, because of disgraceful ambitions. If such a phenomenon cannot be prevented across the "absurd border", then there is no way to keep it from comng here.

Democratic Party Leader Views FYROM Minority

94BA0334A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 17 Jun 94 pp 7-9

[Article by Mirce Tomovski: "Everything Has Its Price!"]

[Excerpts] *Until recently a professor of aesthetics at Tirane University, Eduard Selami is now head of the Albanian Democratic Party. It is the ruling party in this neighboring country. The current Albanian head of state, Sali Berisha, was its leader. People familiar with the Albanian political situation say that Selami is still a favorite professor among students. Reporters perceive him as a modern politician, a figure prepared to talk frankly about even the most sensitive political issues. Eduard Selami also confirmed this in the contacts and interview for PULS. The conversation lasted less than an hour, and was agreed to over the phone without any conditions whatsoever. The Albanian Democratic Party's headquarters is somewhere close to the center of Tirane. An impression is left by two details which are in a way a counterpoint to the Albanian material and intellectual environment—a party center with modern equipment and computers, an informal atmosphere, and an interlocutor who thinks and speaks with an undoubtedly modern political lexicon, which, if not acceptable as a position, is nevertheless respectable. Otherwise, Selami "entered" the Macedonian political scene through his direct involvement "on the scene" during the PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] split, supporting the policies of Menduh Thaci and Arban Xhaferi.* [passage omitted]

[Tomovski] From this political perspective with which you are looking at both democratic processes and the Balkans, how do you perceive the situation of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]?

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[Selami] I think that that is a problem that has to be discussed realistically. Naturally, I cannot make any comparison between the rights of the Albanians living in Macedonia and those who live in Kosovo, and I think that their situations are not comparable. As I said, however, if we are talking realistically, I think that the Albanians in Macedonia have a lot of problems that have to be solved.

[Tomovski] What, specifically, are you thinking of?

[Selami] I will certainly talk specifically! I am talking about problems that really are specific. For example, Albanians' participation in Macedonian political life, the legal system, the army system, the police, and foreign policy is extremely limited. Or let's take the problems in connection with the education of the Albanians, their rights in the media.... Those are likewise problems that need continuing efforts to solve them. Thus, my opinion is that just as you see it yourselves, we will support you; Albania was the second country to recognize Macedonia, and naturally that has its price. We have undoubtedly had international problems because of that, especially with Greece. Macedonia should also respond to this quite friendly attitude of Albania by improving the standard of Albanians' rights in Macedonia, since it is not good, just for the sake of cooperation between Albania and Macedonia, since—let us be frank—the level of Albanians' rights in Macedonia affects our relations with you, and leads to our having problems with our neighbors. If we leave this aside, however, as an external problem for you, I think that Macedonia cannot have any sort of prospects in view of the problems that it has with many countries that do not want it to exist, unless it creates room for a third of its population, i.e., the Albanians. Naturally, you can say that they are less than one-third, and I can insist that they are more than one-third, but that is not significant; what is significant is that they constitute a significant part of Macedonia. They recognize Macedonia, but they are demanding more room. We are also in favor of that democratic room.

There is also another specific point that I have discussed with your politicians, but also in various international meetings, and that is the problem of the Constitution, and what is not stated explicitly, namely that the Albanians are a constituent part of Macedonia. We have to be realistic: If you do not create room for them, if you do not induce the Albanians to think that it is their state as well, then they will undoubtedly strive to find different solutions, and that will primarily be detrimental to you, but it will not be good for the Albanians either.

And one other thing: For example, yesterday I met with an American reporter who told me a very interesting detail. In your "main" hotel in Skopje, the Grand Hotel, the flags of all the countries that had recognized Macedonia were on display. The only flag that was missing, which was not displayed, was the Albanian flag. I asked him how he explained that, since Albania was the second country to recognize Macedonia. Wasn't it a sign of ingratitude, or disrespect for both Albania and the Albanians there? "No," he said, "there is a more pragmatic reason for it. Someone from the management told me, 'If I display the flag here, I am afraid that someone will set fire to my hotel, since there are extremists.'" I can tell you that this made me think. Naturally, I responded to that American reporter that there are extremists everywhere, but since you are a Macedonian and we are neighbors here, it bothered me very much that there is no force that will oppose the extremists. We need to make a decision today—if we leave things in the hands of the extremists, then tragedy is inevitable. If we are going to resolve things, then we should resolve them conscientiously, with tolerance, and one also needs courage for that. One needs courage to tell those extremists that they cannot cross certain limits. In other words, don't just demand that we oppose those extremist actions that we have opposed courageously, but instead let's oppose all of them, since otherwise things will get out of control.

[Tomovski] If Macedonia had not opposed extremists of any type, there would have been war in Macedonia by now, if not elsewhere as well. In that regard, citizens are protected in Macedonia regardless of their ethnic identity. In any case, regarding your views on the Albanians in Macedonia, it seems that you are departing from the democratic principles that you were talking about. Above all, like everyone else, they have a civil political status, but also well-developed rights and freedoms as a collective, as a nationality. Vice president of parliament Dzeladin Murati is here on a visit to Albania with Mr. Andov, and Albanians are also in the government coalition and in all other spheres of the Macedonian state, not in accordance with ethnic quotas, but rather as a need for this state, as part of its real life. The Albanian political parties' involvement in Macedonia is also in that context.

[Selami] I did not say that Albanians were not present in those structures; instead, I was talking about specific things, and I will continue to speak in specific terms. Look, only 1.7 percent of the lawyers are of Albanian nationality. They are not accepted and are not employed in Macedonia. I am speaking precisely about such specific things.

[Tomovski] The percentage of unemployed Macedonian lawyers in Macedonia is many times higher. The problem is not their unemployment, since Albanians are involved here because of the principal, big problem of unemployment. Now everyone is "chasing" in his own way after some sort of business, or involved in matters of his own profession.

[Selami] I was there two or three times, and I know that they are involved in private business. That is something that they achieved under the limitations imposed on them by state institutions, however. The Albanians, unable to find employment in the state hierarchy, turned to business, turned to the construction industry, and that

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is the reason why they are more prepared in those matters. I am saying that in general, the Albanians' participation in Macedonian state structures should not be disproportionate to their representation in the population. You can be certain that this is in everyone's interest.

[Tomovski] Yes, but not as a matter for your concern, but rather as a necessity for the Macedonian state, whose citizens they are. Otherwise, it also would be good for us to clarify the Albanian Democratic Party's involvement and your personal involvement in the PDP's problems. Naturally, it was interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of an autochthonous and autonomous party, which had arisen on Macedonian soil, a party of the Albanians living in Macedonia. It would be good if you could present your authoritative views on these problems and the events and divisions in the PDP.

[Selami] There has been a lot of discussion of this issue among the Macedonian public, about our interference in the internal affairs of an independent party. I think that that is not the case. As chairman of the Albanian parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission, I also told your foreign minister that it was not true that we were interfering in a party's internal affairs. In this office, where we are talking now, I have received many representatives of various Albanian parties, and other groups. My duty is to receive them, and I have expressed my opinion whether people liked it or not. No one has the right to demand that I support what he wants, as a political force or as a party. The opinion that we gave, what we are saying, should not be viewed as interference in internal affairs. I think that it is an obsolete concept that belongs to a time that has passed, the time of isolation. We are a party that has relations with the European Democratic Union, the World Democratic Union, and many other parties and unions. They invite us to go to their meetings, we express our opinion there, we make speeches, and that does not constitute interference in internal affairs anywhere. In other words, it is a normal relationship that exists among parties, both in one country and also in other countries.

[Tomovski] Do you have any cooperation with any of the democratic parties in Macedonia that are not ethnic Albanian parties? There are several of them.

[Selami] I regret that we do not have enough contacts with the other non-Albanian parties in Macedonia. That, however, is due to the fact that we have never received a single invitation from them. I have met their representatives in other countries, but I emphasize that as a party we do not have enough contacts with those parties.

[Tomovski] It is noteworthy, however, that your involvement may have negative consequences for the Macedonian political environment, especially in the sphere of the ethnic Albanian parties' activity, because of the real danger of a split among the membership, the people, and the Albanian population....

[Selami] I do not think that these party splits are inevitable everywhere. There are divisions both here in Albania, and in the world. These are processes that are inevitable. I personally am in favor of having the Albanian parties cooperate on the basis of a common platform, by which they will not only help the Macedonian state, but also at the same time help to have their problems solved in the most concrete and the best way possible, for their benefit and the benefit of Macedonia, on behalf of peace and stability in the region. I am not paying that much attention to those divisions and internal divergences. They have more to do with personal matters than positions. Our political position has been clear. We have the political platform that we have, and we support any political force, any individual, any organization that coincides with our concept. There is no doubt that we are not going into details. That is the business of those who go into details. Usually there is always an uproar over it in the press, and various interpretations are always given. I heard that the Albanian Democratic Party interfered in this schism, and even caused the division. I think that it is not realistic; it is not a question of our interference, but rather we expressed our opinion after our help was requested. Here, where we are now, I have met with Z. Murati and A. Xhaferi, I told them my opinion and my views, and then it was up to them what to decide. It is their business to decide whether they will remain together, or separate, or create new parties. But we and I personally have recommended that any new parties created coordinate things with each other, in the interest of peace and stability, in the interest of the Albanians living in Macedonia, in the interest of Macedonia's stability. This is our platform, and these are the concrete things that we are supporting.

[Tomovski] From the standpoint of these political positions, do you consider the position of the Albanians in Macedonia, their rights and freedoms, to be at European standards of treatment?

[Selami] Naturally, we think that we have already demonstrated our obligations to a significant extent, and it is not open to discussion at all that the number, in principle, does not have any significance at all. In this specific case, however, we should say that it is a number that is considerably smaller than the number of Albanians living in Macedonia. I think that the census will show a great deal in this regard. We think that the standard that we have achieved with respect to the minority here represents a very good basis for our demanding rights for Albanians wherever they live, in accordance with the specific characteristics that they have—minority rights where they are a minority, state-creating elements where they are state-creating, and autonomy where they are autonomous.

[Tomovski] Does that mean that the Macedonians here also have their own rights in accordance with these principles: political parties, deputies, and participation in the government?

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[Selami] They undoubtedly have those rights, since those are rights that no longer depend on us. The constitutional law gives them those rights. In a word, all minorities have those rights. Naturally, however, in our country you have to have about 10,000 voters in order to have one deputy. That figure is practically unattainable for the Macedonian minority. Regardless of the fact that they do not have the number necessary for one deputy, however, there is still a considerable number of them who are members of the Democratic Party and vote for it. There are Macedonians both in the ministries and in other institutions. I think that there is no problem for them, and if there were some problem, it would be the first time that I had heard of one. We are prepared to solve the problem.

[Tomovski] The problem, then, is not in percentages, and instead the rights are derived from universal principles. You are still proceeding from the numbers, however.

[Selami] I think that there is a misunderstanding here. We have the law on human rights, which defines the rights of minorities, and there is a difference among minorities that have—let us express it that way—rights in accordance with international documents, and minorities which have a much larger percentage and participation in political life. Since it is practically impossible, you cannot demand that a minority that constitutes 1 or 2 percent, and a minority, or call it whatever you want, that constitutes 30 or 40 percent of the population, have the same rights. Those are rights that are naturally created by new relationships all by themselves.

[Tomovski] There is, however, a different interpretation of the numbers and percentages, and the "amount" of rights and freedoms....

[Selami] In practice, that is a problem that exists. Naturally, I do not think that we cannot solve these problems through discussion. These are very complex discussions but in this interview, I want to emphasize that we will always support stability in Macedonia. Naturally, we will always support the interests of the Albanians who live in Macedonia, and there is no contradiction in this; we think that it benefits both of our countries and the region for these two things to develop in parallel with each other, to develop in the direction of expanding the rights of Albanians, as well as other minorities living in the Balkans.

ΩPoll: Low Voter Support [illegible] Coalition Parties

94P20995A

[Editorial Report] In a recent poll of party preferences by the Data Press agency, only about a quarter of those surveyed said they would vote for one of the parties in the current governing coalition. Fully 36 percent were unwilling to answer and 17 percent either rejected all the parties listed or said they planned to abstain, according to the poll published in four issues (29 June—2 July) of the Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA.

Description of Sample

According to the data published in NOVA MAKEDONIJA, the sample of 600 people included the following ethnic groups: 436 Macedonians, 118 Albanians, 24 Serbs, four Vlachs, and two Turks; the ethnic identity of the remaining 16 people was not stated. It roughly conformed to the composition of the population of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in terms of gender and age, and the large majority of respondents were not members of any party. The paper did not provide any information on the methodology used or the date of the survey.

Party Preferences

In a comparison of past voting behavior and current intentions, 19 percent said that they had voted for the VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity) in 1990, but only 7 percent would now; 21 percent were for the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia (SDSM) in 1990, 14 percent now; and the Liberal Party (LP) was favored by 6 percent then and 1 percent now. Seventeen percent of the respondents had voted for the ethnic Albanian electoral coalition, PDP-NDP (Party for Democratic Prosperity—People's Democratic Party) in 1990, and 14 percent planned to vote for the PDP. (The NDP was not included in the published results of future intentions.) Three percent of those surveyed claimed to have voted for the Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM) in 1990, but none supported it now. The Democratic Party (DP), founded by Petar Gosev in 1993, was the choice of eight percent. Twenty-one percent of those surveyed said that they did not vote in 1990.

Voter Expectations

The poll collected some incomplete data on how well parties have met the expectations of their supporters. Pensioners were the most content and those working in the private sector the least satisfied. Only 17 percent of VMRO-DPMNE sympathizers said the party had completely met their expectations, compared to 54 percent of SDSM sympathizers. Respondents who were partially satisfied with their parties' performance included sympathizers of the LP (67 percent), PDP (60 percent), VMRO-DPMNE (56 percent), DP (29 percent), and SDSM (23 percent).

Voting Intentions

The poll asked respondents to name their current party preferences, and collected data according to age group, educational level, employment, ethnic affiliation, religion, and party sympathy, but failed to cite the results of the entire sample. Younger voters appeared to favor the

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VMRO-DPMNE and the DP, while those over 59 supported the SDSM. Respondents with higher education tended to prefer the SDSM, the LP, and the DP; those with secondary education chose the VMRO-DPMNE of the PDP. The poll showed ethnicity to be a strong factor in voting preferences. For example, the VMRO-DPMNE was supported only by Macedonians. The SDSM drew support from Vlachs (50 percent of those polled), Macedonians (17 percent), and Serbs (8 percent). The LP was named by Serbs (8 percent) and Macedonians (1 percent). The PDP was not the choice of Macedonians but was chosen by 68 percent of the Albanians and 100 percent of the Turks. Most of the supporters of the DP were Macedonian, but their numbers included a few Serbs and Albanians. Only Orthodox Christians supported the VMRO-DPMNE, while Roman Catholics (1 percent of the total sample) were the largest religious group backing the SDSM, the PDP's sympathizers were mainly Muslims, and the DP's mainly Orthodox Christians. About 13 percent of LP supporters claimed to be of "other faiths."

Paper on Bulgarian 'Repression' of Macedonians

AU2907084294 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 28 Jul 94 pp 1-2

[Text] Sofia, 27 Jul—The United Macedonian Organization [OMO] "Ilinden" has organized a rally in Samoilova Krepost, a settlement near Petric, for 31 July, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Republic of Macedonia, the 91st Anniversary of the Ilinden uprising, and the 980th Anniversary of the day the soldiers of the Macedonian Emperor Samoil were blinded.

This year, once again, the chances for realizing the OMO "Ilinden" program are slim. The mayors of Blagoevgrad, Petric, and Sandanski were informed in time about the planned rally, however the communal and regional authorities replied negatively, as they did last year: The rally is not approved. The official explanation was that it is a rally organized by an illegal organization. This explanation was supported by official requests of the community and regional authorities in the Pirin region of Macedonia for the police to prevent the gathering of the Macedonians and their organization.

Absolutely unscrupulously, Sofia's media stated that the Bulgarian police will establish check points on all exits from Petric and other towns in the region. The communal police units are waiting for support from the National Security Service. The chauvinist camouflage goes so far as to inform the public that elite units will act discreetly because the presence of Macedonian journalists and distinguished people is expected, assuming that a possible settlement of the accounts with Macedonians will be undertaken by the special Service for the Struggle Against Organized Crime.

Meanwhile, the anti-Macedonian, chauvinist organization VMRO-SMD [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Alliance of Macedonian Associations] was allowed to advertise its program on the celebration of the Ilinden-transformation insurrection. The heirs of those who were to be blamed the most for the catastrophe of the Macedonian national movement during different periods are free to visit the tombs of their victims, proclaiming the dead as their historical compatriots. Goce [Delcev], Jane [Sandanski], Dame [Gruev] are placed in the same ranks with Vanco Mihajlov and Todor Aleksandrov, and as a greater tragedy, it is all done under the sponsorship of the Bulgarian state.

The banned demonstration by the Macedonians in the Pirin region of Macedonia is the last act of a regime that has disqualified its democracy, cutting down the elements of the spiritual, moral, political, and material foundations of life of those who feel themselves to be Bulgarians. Others are also discredited on a purely nationalist basis, but the activities against the Macedonians are tragic and at the same time comical. These qualifications are extracted from the history of Bulgaria. However, the same history tells us that the Macedonians have survived even greater temptations than the repression by the Bulgarian police, proving that chauvinist methods usually create results opposite to the planned tasks.

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Federal

Government Urges Bosnian Serbs To Accept Plan

LD3107172594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 31 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Sunday called on the Bosnian Serb leadership to accept the Contact Group peace plan. The plan provides a framework in which Bosnian Serbs can continue their struggle for their legitimate rights through peaceful means, a Yugoslav Information Ministry statement said. The federal government asked the Bosnian Serb "leadership to show its proven option for peace and the peace process by taking an unequivocally positive stand on the current Contact Group proposal."

"Serb people in Bosnia have convinced the entire world that they are courageous enough successfully to defend their legitimate national rights in the war which was forced on them," the Yugoslav Government said.

"The world now expects the Serb people to be not any less brave to fight for their rights through the peace that is offered them, not war," the statement said.

Assessing the Contact Group proposal as positive, the Yugoslav Government said that "the time has come for all Yugoslav citizens and the entire Serb and Montenegrin nations to take a strong and definite stand on the situation."

"The international community is united in insisting on an end to the inter-ethnic war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and acceptance of the Contact Group proposal," the statement said.

The choice "is essentially reduced to accepting a compromise peace or an escalation of war with tighter sanctions against the Serb people and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," the statement said.

"Although it cannot be said that the Contact Group proposal is wholly unbiased and takes sufficiently into consideration some major interests of the Serb people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, it cannot be said that it is turned against them," the government said.

The plan in fact "makes official the statehood of Bosnian Serbs in the form of acknowledging the Serb republic and guaranteeing its borders with the Moslem-Croat federation," the Yugoslav Government said.

The proposal also "opens perspectives for the Serb republic's linking to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," the statement said.

The Yugoslav Government said that "some incomplete or missing parts in that plan can be overcome in the course of the peace process which has sufficient space for bilateral agreements, including regarding territories."

Acceptance of the plan enables the lifting of sanctions and reintegration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the international community, the Yugoslav Government said.

"At this point, peace and its fruits are the greatest gain for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the entire Serb people," the Yugoslav Government said.

"The sacrificing of peace and acceptance of a confrontation with the most powerful part of the international community would lead to a real disaster," the federal government warned.

Rejection of the Contact Group peace plan would be counter-productive and dangerous, the Yugoslav Government assessed, pointing out that "just and lasting peace has no real alternative."

Lilic Urges Bosnian Serbs To Accept Peace Plan

LD3107133294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—FRY President Zoran Lilic made the following statement for TANJUG on the occasion of the ministerial meeting in Geneva:

"The FRY, the Republic of Serbia, and the Republic of Montenegro are united in their policy and this unity is particularly clear when this policy concerns peace. The true meaning of our stand—that in this certainly decisive moment in the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis the plan drawn up by the international community should be accepted—lies in the fact that it is the only way which allows for the continuation of the peace process.

"It is certain that a nation, which has fought bravely and resolutely for its fundamental right to survival and equality with the other two nations in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina for over two years, will not find it at all easy to make such a vital decision. The international community has betrayed its expectations on more than one occasion.

"However, the peace process was ripening, the truth was emerging, albeit slowly, and the position of the Serb people was becoming stronger. The present proposal cannot at all be described as being against the vital interests of the Serbian nation.

"The guarantee of one half of the territory [for the Serbs] is the most important fact which should be the starting point when the decision is made. Equally important is a newly opened possibility for the Serbs to resolve most of the other issues in their favor during the peace process which is set to continue after the acceptance of the peace plan. Our citizens gave their unreserved support to the just struggle of the Serb people for their equal status in the war which had been imposed on them, and the FRY expressed boundless solidarity in its efforts to achieve this goal.

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"Today, after a long and tragic war, a tremendous amount of suffering and destruction, and many victims on all sides, both domestic and international conditions have been created enabling us to come to the joint conclusion that there is no alternative to peace, both from the viewpoint of the national interest of the Serbian nation as a whole and from the viewpoint of the state interest of both the Serb Republic [in Bosnia] and the FRY. There is no alternative because this time the international community has made it clear that it will otherwise turn against the entire Serbian nation in a united and coordinated fashion.

"Naturally, there can be no peace without a compromise. However, our assessments are that the proposed plan is an honest compromise. The decision is a difficult one, but it must be made in full awareness of the responsibility that the consequences would affect the entire Serbian nation—the Serb Republic and the FRY alike. In my opinion, there can be no moral dilemma at such a decisive moment, in which part of our people have been brought into the situation of taking on their historic responsibility for the fate of the entire Serbian nation and all citizens of the FRY," Zoran Lilic said in his statement.

Lilic Addresses Cadets

LD3007140594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 30 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic said Saturday the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro rightfully expected the international community to observe the Serb interests. He said the basic and vital national and state interests of the Serbs in their entirety had to be observed and the Serbs had to be treated as any other nationally constructive European nation. "The Bosnian Serbs do not favour war. They favour peace, but they only ask for what has already been given and recognized to others—guarantees," said Lilic.

Lilic was speaking at a ceremony of promoting cadets of the Yugoslav military academy to the rank of second-lieutenant under a presidential decree. Lilic's speech coincided with the contact group meeting in Geneva dissatisfied with the Bosnian Serb reply to its plan for Bosnia.

The Bosnian Serb parliament Thursday released an explanation of the July 19 declaration, urging a resumption of talks and clarification of the plan elements. The West, however, sees such stand as a "no" to the plan.

Lilic said the Serb people had the right to do whatever it could not to be forced to receive less than it is entitled to. He said a stable and prosperous world could not be created by denying the same rights to one nation and recognizing them to others. He said no precedents must be made to that effect. He said precedents always triggered more fighting, with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia setting a good example to this.

More on Lilic Address

AU3007155094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Report by Mijusko Tomic]

[Excerpt] The Yugoslav Army and our country are today richer for yet another generation of young officers of expert military knowledge who are morally ready to defend the homeland, said President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and commander of the Supreme Command Zoran Lilic at the ceremony marking the graduation of students of the military academies and their promotion to officers in the Yugoslav Army. The ceremony in Banjica [Belgrade] was attended by FRY Chamber of Republics chairman Milos Radulovic, Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, chief of the Yugoslav Army General Staff Lieutenant General Momcilo Perisic, president of the Federal Committee of the Yugoslav Veterans' Association Milosav Bojic, and the dean and professors of Belgrade University. Mijusko Tomic has the details:

[Begin recording] [Tomic] FRY President and commander of the Supreme Defense Council Zoran Lilic addressed the new Yugoslav Army officers and the guests attending the ceremony and said that the times in which we are celebrating this significant occasion are difficult, uncertain, and crucial for all our people.

[Lilic] History is again being played out live in this region. For the umpteenth time, the interests of the superpowers have crossed in the heart of the Balkans, while others are attempting—in accordance with their plans and needs—to define our fate, even to organize our state. That is why our country has for a long time now been exposed to unjust sanctions, various pressures, threats, and blackmail by the architects of the so-called new world order. Therefore, I take this opportunity to stress once more that the FRY is firmly committed to peace and a peaceful solution to the crisis in the region of the former Yugoslavia. That has been our commitment since the very beginning of the crisis, and we have not altered it to this day. We desire a just peace as soon as possible, a peace that would equally take into consideration the basic and vital interests of all the sides in the conflict. I am deeply convinced that the establishment of a just peace has no alternative, because only peace based on these principles can be realistic and lasting. Peace is not aimed against anyone, because it is in the interest of all. Moreover, I wish to stress that the lifting of the international community's unjust sanctions against the FRY represents a component of the process of establishing a stable peace and a condition for the normalization of all relations in former Yugoslavia. Sanctions and blockades are becoming increasingly frequent and widespread in the world.

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[Tomic] Addressing the issue of the biased and inconsistent attitudes of the superpowers' representatives, President Zoran Lilic stressed:

[Lilic] The FRY and our people are not asking anything more for themselves than has already been granted to other peoples. However, we have the absolute right not to allow them—to the extent that this is possible—to use sheer force to impose less on us. You cannot build a stable and prosperous world by giving certain rights to some peoples and withholding them from others. There can and must be no precedent in this matter. Precedents have always been a source of new conflicts. The examples of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia best confirm this. The FRY rightfully expects the international community—and considers this to be the only just course of action—to recognize the entire Serbian people's basic and vital national and state interests, and to treat it in the manner of other, state-building European peoples. The Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not want war, they want peace, but they ask for themselves what others have already been granted: guarantees. We shall persevere in this position, although we are paying an extremely high price for our right and our consistency.

[Tomic] In Lilic's words, the region of the former Yugoslavia has served the world powers as a training area for flexing their muscle and realizing the superpowers' interests.

[Lilic] International law has been manipulated, replaced by politics and even more often by force, to such an extent that it has turned into a farce which at times becomes it own opposite [sentence as heard]. The tendency is for force to rule the world, rather than law, and that is why the so-called little peoples must unite against their mutual enemy, force and injustice.

[Tomic] Regardless of the difficult circumstances, we must develop our political wisdom and caution, and strengthen our economic power, our army and defense generally, said the FRY president and stressed:

[Lilic] The geographical and geostrategic position of the FRY has always been the key and the corridor of the Balkans. Various links connect it to all the important European and Middle Eastern regions, and—via the Adriatic—all other important regions in the world. Consequently, our history—due to the will of others, of the powers—is a history of defensive wars. No one wages a war unless he is forced to do so. International media have on numerous occasions said that we are a warmongering nation. War was never our choice, it was always imposed on us. We were forced to defend our own; our national interest is peace and cooperation with all peoples and all states, regardless of their racial or confessional membership. Our people know very well what war is. A people that has experienced war and aggression values peace more than those who have not experienced it. These bitter experiences have resulted in a firm commitment to a policy of peace and our wish is to live, work, and build in peace, rather than for each generation to wage war and experience the repeated destruction of things that have just been rebuilt and restored. There can be no doubt that in such unfavorable circumstances we must have a strong, operative Yugoslav Army, adequate in number and modernly equipped, that will be a sure guarantor of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the FRY in all situations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Kozyrev Outlines Post-Peace Guarantees

LD3107214794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2112 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 July (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his associates who arrived in Belgrade this evening. The Russian foreign minister was accompanied by Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin and Nikiforov, Russian envoy to the Contact Group team of experts.

According to a statement from the president's office, in their lengthy and open talks which were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, President Milosevic and Minister Kozyrev exchanged views relating to bilateral Serbian-Russian relations, current political issues of mutual interest, and issues of importance for successfully ending the crisis in the Yugoslav lands.

At the meeting Minister Kozyrev presented Russia's guarantees setting out that once the Contact Group plan has been accepted and once the army of the Serb republic has withdrawn to the agreed borders, all the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be lifted. He also outlined international guarantees of the future borders between the Serb republic and the Croat-Muslim federation and the equal right of the Serb republic to establish a confederation with Serbia, i.e. the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the same right as that enjoyed by the Muslim-Croat federation to establish a confederation with Croatia.

It was jointly agreed that the peace process should be immediately continued and successfully concluded with the aim of achieving a comprehensive peace plan which would encompass solutions for all key crisis points in the area.

The Republic of Serbia expects the process of lifting the sanctions to follow immediately after such a successful conclusion; this will doubtless have a significant influence on the decision to abandon the war option.

Serbia's and Russia's great mutual interest in stepping up comprehensive cooperation between the two countries was also stressed and this will be the topic of forthcoming Moscow talks between Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic and Russian Premier Chernomyrdin and other Russian collocutors.

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The talks between President Milosevic and Minister Kozyrev were also attended by Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic on our side and Deputy Minister Vitaliy Churkin and Ambassador to Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin on the Russian side.

Urges Serbs To Accept Plan

LD0108101494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 1 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Prior to his departure from Belgrade for Moscow, Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said that Russia has done everything for the contact group plan "to suit the Serb interest to a maximum degree."

"Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was elected by the people, and I think that he has the opportunity to induce the Bosnian Serbs to accept the contact group plan on the territorial division of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Kozyrev said in a statement for RIA.

He said that if the Bosnian Serbs accept the plan on territorial division, "We will on our part make efforts as regards the lifting of the sanctions."

"We hope the Serbian president will win a political victory, although we are aware that for the realization of that goal he needs great courage." [passage omitted]

Ministry Statement Condemns Albanian Policy

LD3007164794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs today expressed concern over Albania's continued policy of territorial claims, interference in Yugoslavia's [FRY] internal affairs, instigating separatism, and provoking border incidents on the Yugoslav-Albanian border.

The latest example of such a policy, reads a ministry statement, is a message President of the Albanian Republic Sali Berisha recently conveyed to the self-proclaimed president of the "republic of Kosovo" in connection with the session of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK]. President Berisha thus grasped yet another opportunity to openly promote the nonexistent "republic of Kosovo" and call on the Albanian separatists to continue to serve the greater Albanian cause—in "Albanian territories". In this way he once again gave voice to territorial claims and attacked the constitutional and territorial integrity of the FRY.

Greater Albanian aspirations were reaffirmed in a recent statement by President Berisha in Tirana, when he referred to Albanians outside Albania as "7 million Albanians representing an ethnic and geographic continuum and a compact population on its own soil."

All this goes to illustrate that the Albanian leadership clearly ignores the generally accepted stands of the international community that the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the Republic of Serbia and the FRY. Such stands of the Republic of Albania are a flagrant violation of the principles of the UN Charter, the CSCE Final Document and the Paris Charter, the statement reads.

In order to conceal such a policy—which is causing growing concern in the Balkans and in Europe—President Berisha continues to fabricate accusations against Serbia and Yugoslavia and against other neighbors of Albania.

Such messages and similar public utterances by top-level Albanian officials provide a basis for a policy of systematic provocations along the Yugoslav-Albanian border, in which there is an increasing incidence of attempts at illegally infiltrating armed individuals and terrorist groups into Yugoslavia from Albania.

The Albanian authorities bear exclusive responsibility for the latest tragic border incident on 27 July, in the area of the Liken watchtower. On that occasion two armed individuals illegally entered Yugoslav territory from Albania, and opened fire at a Yugoslav border patrol 300 meters inside Yugoslav territory. Acting in self-defense and in line with border security regulations, the Yugoslav border patrol responded to the hostile fire and killed the two terrorists. This, like many other border incidents before it, shows that Albania refuses to abide by international norms on the respect for interstate borders, as well as that it is ignoring the obligations it assumed at the last session of the main mixed commission for border incidents, held in Belgrade in June.

Special concern is aroused by the fact that the Albanian president is promising continuous aid to Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] secessionists and their policy of destabilizing Kosovo and Metohija and their attempts to break off from Serbia and Yugoslavia. The responsibility for the consequences of such unacceptable and dangerous policies is borne exclusively by the Albanian Government, the Federal Foreign Ministry says.

The Federal Foreign Ministry is again calling on the Albanian side to refrain from instigating Albanian separatism in Kosovo and Metohija. Such policies represent a threat to peace and security in the Balkans and cannot bring any good to the Albanian people.

The Yugoslav side reiterates its readiness to commence a political dialogue with Albania with the intention of defusing tensions in mutual relations and paving the road to their normalization, the statement notes in conclusion.

ce Efforts

LD2907162594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Rome, July 29 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Ministry Secretary-General Ferdinando Saleo said Friday

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that Italy respected Yugoslavia's efforts for peace in Bosnia. During talks in Rome with a Yugoslav delegation headed by Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic, Saleo said a just peace was the only acceptable solution for Bosnia and the current deadlock should not be used to strengthen the options for war.

The Yugoslav delegation was in Rome following an official visit to Libya.

Saleo said that all sides, and primarily the Bosnian Serbs, should intensify diplomatic efforts in order to preserve the peace process. Italian officials have expressed fears that the conflict in Bosnia could spill over into neighboring regions.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said he regretted that Italy had not taken a more active role in Bosnia's peace. He said Italys process [words indistinct] 'constructive approach' would have been helpful to the process. The Yugoslav delegation, which also included Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic, left Rome Friday for Budapest to meet with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

Serbia

Milosevic Urges Serbs To Accept Peace Plan

LD3107094694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0215 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—In connection with the ministerial meeting that has just ended in Geneva, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, said in a statement today that peace is in the interest of the entire Serbian nation and all citizens of the Serb republic [RS], the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], which means that the proposal of the international community should be accepted to enable the continuation of the peace process.

In this connection President Milosevic made a statement for POLITIKA director Hadzi Dragan Antic in which he said:

"The ministerial meeting in Geneva has shown how serious and how important the decision of the international community is. It opened the door to peace, but it also established a deadline for passing a decision in favor of either war or peace (seven to ten days to the UN Security Council session).

"The decision is of far-reaching importance not just for the Serbian and other people and all the people west of the Drina River, but also for all citizens of the FRY and the future generations in this region.

"Since 5 July, when the international community's proposal was revealed, our public was overwhelmed with discussions for and against the peace plan, which sometimes went as far as providing concrete details, thus making things unclear instead of clarifying them. [sentence as received] A decision of such weight cannot be based on details but on one key issue—what is of the paramount national interest for the Serbs at this moment—and on the reply—peace. Or the decision should be based on the same question, but which is formulated differently—who has the right on behalf of the Serbian people to reject peace—and on the reply—no one.

"This goal has been achieved through tremendous self-sacrifice on the part of all citizens of the FRY and the entire Serbian nation, and through the heroic struggle of the Serbian nation for freedom and equality. The Serb republic was created and, according to a proposal by the international community, it should be recognized in law and should take up one half of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This plan, although it contains many solutions which the people in the Serb republic could find unsatisfactory, is not anti-Serbian, because the proposal which gives one half of the territory to the Serb republic and the other half to the Muslim-Croat federation cannot be qualified as anti-Serb.

"The fifty-fifty proposal is a response of the international community to the fact that for the past three years the sides in the conflict—from Lisbon to London, New York, Geneva and Brussels, Sarajevo and Pale—have not succeeded in reaching an agreement. At the same time it is a response of the international community to the desperate need for the bloodshed and horrors of war to stop regardless of the cost.

"By cooperating with the international community the sides practically gave permission to the international community—as a last resort—to take on the role of arbiter, which is what it is now doing. Its proposal is not altogether fair to the Serb side, which had the war imposed on it and which never made any decisions on secession, but, on the contrary, advocated the country's integrity. However, there is no doubt about the fact that a compromise is necessary, that peace is more just than war, and that life and reason must prevail over death and endless destruction.

"In addition to all this, it is not true that the proposed borders are final, because the proposer himself left it open to the sides in conflict to continue negotiating on changing borders. This is bound to happen because there are many locations on both sides for which there is mutual interest in coming to an agreement (the Sarajevo district, enclaves, etc.) and for which both sides have trump cards in their hands, and also to continue negotiating those issues in the international plan which are not yet defined.

"All this is possible only if the peace process is not interrupted, especially through the legalization of an all-out war against the Serbian nation with the support of the entire world. The escalation of such a war and the tightening of sanctions would have inconceivably tragic

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consequences for the entire Serbian nation and its historic interests, because it would set it back for several decades.

"The choice between such a denouement on the one side and on the other the recognition of the Serb Republic—along with the internationally guaranteed borders toward the Croat-Muslim community and the guarantee that all sanctions against the FRY would be lifted—ought not to be controversial neither from the standpoint of responsibility toward the Serbian national interest nor from the standpoint of responsibility toward all citizens of the FRY. These citizens have shown immeasurable solidarity with the Serb people on the other side of the Drina, without which the Serb republic would never have been created nor freedom and equality in former Bosnia-Herzegovina preserved."

"Now when the Serb republic has been created, and its legalization within the borders guaranteed by the international community is certain, the demand for the citizens of the FRY and the whole of the Serbian nation to make further sacrifices could not be defended by any moral reason. On the contrary, creating conditions for lifting the sanctions is the least the citizens of the FRY have the right to expect from the citizens and the leadership of the Serb republic.

"We presented all these issues, with many other facts and arguments, to the highest-ranking leaders of the Serb republic in a completely open, responsible, and brotherly fashion, and we reached a very high degree of understanding and agreement with them on all important issues. We are aware of the fact that the decisions that must be made contain many difficult solutions, but even the most difficult ones do not threaten life, freedom, and equality of the people, whereas the escalation of the war and the sanctions undoubtedly threaten them.

"We have the opportunity together to start the economic revival and the reconstruction of the country in the nearest future, during which we will be able to rely on versatile and equal cooperation with many countries throughout the world by reintegrating ourselves into the international community. The time has come for peace to reign again in this region, and for the concerns for survival to be replaced by the concerns of everyday life—for a higher standard of living and the economic and cultural development of the country and its people.

"At this moment, one needs more courage and moral strength to opt for peace than to opt for the war that is going on. In the interest of the whole of the Serbian nation and all the citizens of the Serb republic, the republic of Serb Krajina, and the FRY, we should opt for peace. This means accepting the proposal of the international community and making possible the resumption of the peace process," Slobodan Milosevic said at the end of his statement.

Assembly Backs Milosevic

LD3107154794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 31 (TANJUG)—Serbian Assembly President Dragan Tomic on Sunday backed the stand of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that the Contact Group plan for Bosnia should be accepted. Tomic said that the Serbian leadership was also united behind Milosevic's statement to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on the occasion of Saturday's meeting of the foreign ministers of the Contact Group. Tomic said that he could say this because he had taken part in talks between the leading political and military officials of Serbia, Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at which the Contact Group proposal was analysed.

Tomic described the plan as a "plan for peace, not war" and as "nonsense" the statements that Bosnian Serbs were losing Ozren, Kupres and other areas where they have lived for centuries.

"Why would Serbs in peacetime abandon Ozren, Kupres and other areas where they have lived for centuries. On the contrary, I think that one can lose only in war, and much more—human lives," Tomic said.

All questions, including controversial ones, can be resolved only in peace and that is why the only real solution in the interest of the entire Serb people is to accept the Contact Group peace plan, Tomic said.

Army Supports Policy

LD3107153394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—In response to the international community's peace plan on solving the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the ministerial meeting held in Geneva yesterday, Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of staff of the Yugoslav Army, said today that, in line with its role regulated by the constitution, the Yugoslav Army supports the state policy.

"In line with its role regulated by the constitution, the Yugoslav Army supports the state policy which at this fateful moment best represents the interests of the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in its efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Perisic stressed.

Government Backs Statement

LD3107152794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbia fully supports the stances and assessments of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic given in response to the decisions of the ministerial meeting in Geneva on how to solve the crisis

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in the territory of the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the republic's Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic said today. The government believes that the decisions adopted at the ministerial meeting are not anti-Serb, since the Serb republic is granted 49 percent of the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Muslim-Croat Federation 51 percent. The government accepts the fact that the proposed plan is not perfectly just. [passage omitted]

Opposition Hails Milosevic

AU3107151094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] One of the first parties to react to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's statement was the New Democracy Party. Here is the statement by Vojislav Andric, vice president of the Serbian Assembly and vice president of the New Democracy Party.

[Begin Andric recording] Since the beginning of the conflict in Yugoslavia up until the present day, the New Democracy Party has remained consistent in its position that just peace has no alternative. Today we are more convinced of this than ever before and we believe that the international community's guarantees—in the form of an international legalization of the Serbian republic and guarantees for the borders between the Serbian republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation—represent the final victory of the Serbian people's just struggle for the protection of their national interests. In the future course of the peace process, the remaining issues—further adjustment of the maps, demarcation in Sarajevo, the issue of enclaves, and access to the sea—must also be broached. Taking into consideration the importance and gravity of the decision, all this is enough reason for saying 'yes' to the international community, and with it the end of all the horrors of war and tragedies for the citizens and peoples in Bosnia. The New Democracy Party believes that some of the solutions contained in the peace proposal are not ideal for the Serbian people in the Serbian republic, but more courage and moral strength are needed to decide on peace as a basis for further negotiations in which both of the warring factions can verify their vital interests within the framework of a quality division of territory [sentence as heard]. In this respect, the New Democracy Party fully supports the statement made last night by Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic, because we are certain that it represents a conviction that the sanctions will be unconditionally lifted. It also depicts the peaceful mood and commitment of the citizens of Serbia. [end recording]

Draskovic Supports Milosevic

LD3107133794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—We welcome the statement by the president of the republic, in which he clearly voiced his stand in favor of the peace project of the contact group. Given that this stand is shared by the Serbian Renewal Movment [SPO], we shall support President Milosevic in all his efforts for peace, SPO President Vuk Draskovic said today. "Peace is the primary and most important national interest of the Serbian nation today—as the SPO has been stressing since the beginning of the war—and the struggle for peace and for lifting the sanctions therefore comes before all party and political disagreements," we read in a statement issued by this party.

Kostunica Assails Milosevic

LD3107162094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—Vojislav Kostunica, chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], said today that "the Contact Group's decision in Geneva has left the possibility for the peace process to continue even though it would be marked by pressures on the Serb side alone. Even such a decision allows the [Bosnian] Serbs to continue with their efforts to achieve a just peace. The Serbian president's statement has completely jeopardized the efforts for a just and lasting peace."

In a statement issued by the DSS, Kostunica goes on to say: "In his statement for POLITIKA, Slobodan Milosevic called for unconditional acceptance of the decision reached in Geneva. He did this at a time when, as on so many previous occasions, a chance exists for the decision to be improved in favor of the Serb side, particularly regarding the possibility for the [Bosnian] Serb republic to gain a confederal status within Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus enabling it to link up with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

"In order to justify his appeal for acceptance of the plan, the Serbian president first had to eliminate the differences between a just and an unjust peace. He also had to add to the Contact Group's decision something it did not contain but which is more important than anything else: the guarantee to recognize internationally the Serb republic and to lift the sanctions against the FRY. What Milosevic said is not true but something else is: When it comes to choosing between the interests of the Serb nation and keeping his party in power (especially preserving its financial assets abroad), Slobodan Milosevic has, as on so many occasions before, opted for the latter," the DSS statement says.

Djindjic Discusses Contact Group Statement

LD3007191694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 30 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—President of the Democratic Party (DS) Zoran Djindjic has told Tanjug that "today's decision by the contact group is more of an expression of the intention to preserve the unity of the group's members than of the desire to offer a real solution."

"The decision oscillates between America's wish to have its plan for Bosnia implemented ultimatively and Russia's realistic plan," he said. According to Djindjic, "by

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accepting the percentages offered and demanding further clarification, the Serb side has accepted the essence of the peace plan". [passage omitted]

Jovic Reiterates Need for Bosnian Peace Talks

LD2907165894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Serbia, told journalists in the Serbian Assembly today that the situation following the reply given by the Serb Republic is clear: "The Serb Republic continues to abide by the option of finding a peaceful solution through negotiations and accepts the contact group plan as a basis for negotiations, while highlighting issues that it considers still require discussion."

"The fact that it accepts negotiations means that it does not reject the plan and that it is ready for compromises, assuming that the other side should also be ready for them, regardless of the fact that the architects of the plan would like the Serb Republic to accept it unconditionally," Jovic said.

According to him, it is very difficult to ask someone to accept something unconditionally unless it is sufficiently clear, and it is not fair to ask for this without any explanation.

Jovic stressed that the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina "should be approached by all the sides in a reasonable way and efforts should be made to reach a solution through a compromise, since brutally turning to the war option would be a catastrophe for all."

"One should not dramatize anything, nor succumb to insufficiently considered conclusions or decisions," he added, specifying that he was speaking about all the warring sides and all those involved, including the international community.

"The international community should not allow the punishment of someone who accepts the plan as a basis for talks," Jovic said. According to him, the Serb Republic, by accepting the plan as a basis for talks, has confirmed its positive approach and its wish for compromise. Jovic mentioned another option offered by the Serb Republic if an ultimatum is issued: People must be asked to voice their opinion, and then we will see what happens, he said.

Police Reportedly Threaten Danica Draskovic

94P21036A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 94 p 8

[Article by I.B.: "Special Police at the Draskovics' Door"]

[Text] Belgrade (From VJESNIK correspondent)—"Members of the Belgrade Secretariat of Internal Affairs [SUP] intervention unit showed up Tuesday prepared to force their way into my apartment. They grossly insulted me, cursed me, and threatened to rape me. Do you, Mr. President, stand behind this hooligan attack on my family?" This is the content of the letter Danica Draskovic, wife of Vuk Draskovic—leader of the strongest opposition party—addressed to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, informing him of the threats she has received from the Belgrade police, whose special forces unit "knocked" on the door of the Draskovics' apartment, summoning them to an "informative talk." Nada Boskovic, Danica Draskovic's sister, received a similar summons at the same time.

Montenegro

Bulatovic: Bosnia Plan is 'Painful Compromise'

LD3007200494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 30 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Podgorica, July 30 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro [Bulatovic] said Saturday that the Bosnia division plan proposed by the five-power "Contact Group" was a painful political compromise. The plan is mostly the result of a major change in the balance of power at the global level and, rather than of the real situation on the ground, Bulatovic told the local radio in the Montenegrin Adriatic resort of Herceg Novi.

Bulatovic said that the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro and the state and militay leaderships of Yugoslavia had had a series of consultations over the past few days, including exchanges of opinion with leaders of the Bosnian Serb republic. The leaderships of Yugoslavia and its federal units Serbia and Montenegro objectively reviewed the events on the international scene in connection with the contact group plan, and did their best to make it clear to the Bosnian Serb leadership, he said.

Bulatovic said he regretted that the arguments about which the Yugoslav, i.e. Serbian and Montenegrin officials, were unanimous were not fully accepted, "at least not for the time being."

"It is necessary to come to grips with reality and try to see what is undoubtedly positive in the Contact Group plan, and that is undeniable recognition of the Bosnian Serb republic," he said.

"Unfortunately, people who live long in the state of war find it very difficult to rationally decide how to end that war," said Bulatovic.

Ministry Bars Seselj From Entering Republic

LD3107180394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 31 Jul 94

[Text] Podgorica, July 31 (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Interior Ministry said Monday that the Serbian Radical Party leader, Vojislav Seselj, was barred from Montenegro.

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The ministry said the measure would be in force until the federal parliament created possibilities for starting criminal proceedings against Seselj.

In a rally held Saturday in the Adriatic resort of Herceg Novi, radical party members spoke insultingly about the Republic of Montenegro, its constitutional status in the Yugoslav Federation and the state leaderships of Montenegro and Serbia, the ministry said.

For that reason, the Montenegrin Interior Ministry said, the president of the Serbian Radical Party, the second biggest opposition party in the Serbian legislature, had to be expelled from Montenegro.

Seselj, who is also a member of the Yugoslav federal parliament, told reporters in Belgrade on Sunday that he, Party Vice-President Tomislav Nikolic and 34 other party officials were expelled from Montenegro on Sunday morning together with their families.

Seselj said the measure was taken only because he publicly criticized Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic.

He also said that the Radical Party leaders and members of their families had been holidaying in Montenegro for the past two weeks.

The vacation was also used for party activities, but no incident had been reported in any of the rallies held in Montenegro during that time, Seselj said.

Kosovo

Rugova Denounces 'Terrorist' Acts by Police, Army

AU2907201694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 94

[Text] With terrorist acts and frenzied violence, no climate of talks can be set up between Prishtina and Belgrade. That is what president of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova told reporters at a news conference. Correspondent Sherif Konjufca reports from Prishtina:

[Konjufca] The murder by Serbian police of the child Fidan Bresovci for no reason at all and the injury to his parents are serious terrorist acts committed by the Serbian police authorities. In addition, the murder of two other Albanians by the Serbian army on the Albanian border is both a criminal act and a grave provocation that incites tension in this area, president of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said at his regular news conference. Last week, Rugova continued, various localities in Kosova reported about 33 police raids, while 39 such cases of raids on Albanian homes occurred in Podujeve alone.

Under such an atmosphere of violence and repression against the Albanians, the idea of starting talks with the Serbian party seems pointless.

Asked whether they think that massive protests will be organized as a sign of revulsion at the murder of the six-year-old child Fidan, Mr. Rugova said that the murder has greatly revolted the citizens, but in the situation that we are facing, it would be dangerous and have consequences for citizens to go out onto the streets and protest.

Meanwhile, regarding the message on the murders on the Albanian border, Rugova said that it was [word indistinct] and anachronistic and creates the conviction that crossing the Albanian border is impossible, while their aim is to make Kosova as isolated as possible.

Mentioning the trumped-up trials against Albanians, Mr. Rugova demanded the immediate release of those held in custody and all those who had been sentenced for political reasons and put in Serbian prisons without being guilty at all.

President of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova again availed himself of the opportunity to inform the international community about the dangers posed to the Albanian population by Serbian violence. He expressed his strong conviction that it is easier to help Kosova today by placing it under an international protectorate than tomorrow when any eventual conflict may ignite in large proportions in Kosova.

Croatian Daily Views Human Rights Abuses

AU2907140994 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 94 p 8

[Report by Nadira Avdic Vllasi: "The 'Adventurers' Have Prevailed"]

[Text] Pristina (VJESNIK correspondent)—The gloomy political picture of Kosovo seemed somewhat refreshed by the assembly of the LDK [Democratic Union of Kosovo]. Characterized as "the assembly of silence and applause" by the opposition magazine KOHA, it was held in an atmosphere of general unity, simplicity, and in the style of recognizable socialist realism.

Hidden Rift

After the job was done, after elections had been won by former political prisoners, the so called "adventurers," who used to be members of various "Marxist-Leninist groups" influenced by the Albanian Party of Labor (indeed fronted by former "Titoist" Ibrahim Rugova)—there followed criticism and comments on the manner in which a rift was being hidden. Especially sharp criticism came from prominent individuals who were on many previous occasions declared "traitors" by the infamous LDK Information Center for daring to criticize the leaders of the Albanian party in Kosovo.

A mighty blow—some say even too strong—was delivered by the editor in chief of KOHA, Veton Suroj, who said the LDK resembled "a dinosaur with a large body but a small brain," and made the headlines that week. At the latest press conference, Ibrahim Rugova refused to comment on criticism of the LDK and added in a

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conciliatory manner that "everybody has the right to criticize and say what he pleases."

The Serbian regime watched all this from a distance and sent word, time and time again, through Serbian Government Minister [for Kosmet Affairs] Vekoslav Sosevic (whom Fehmi Agani, LDK vice president, calls "the minister for the colonies") that the status of Kosovo is not a matter for discussion and that it is nothing but daydreaming.

And while the assembly is being forgotten, the authorities' demands for autonomy for Presevo, Bujanovac, and Medveda in the south of Serbia, which the Albanians ratified in a referendum held in 1992, are becoming topical again. On that occasion, Sosevic stated that "any kind of autonomy for the area where Albanians live is out of the question."

With Trump Cards to Banks

The news from Serb sources about former provincial officials Remzi Kolgeci (former president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo) and Jusuf Zejnullahu (former president of the Kosovo Government) becoming directors has lately hit the headlines. Interestingly enough, Zejnullahu (as well as Kolgeci) handed over Kosovo's autonomy to Milosevic and Serbia. When Bujar Bukoshi acceded to his position, he went back home and the Serbian authorities did not make any problems. Kolgeci went down in history as a man who deceived the demonstrators in November 1988 and held a session of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Kosovo not right away as he had promised, but only after he had obtained Milosevic's consent and when Serbian views on Albanian demonstrations and demands had been imposed.

For a while, Kolgeci and Zejnullahu kept a low profile, pretending to be the "victims" of the Serbian regime, but it seems that they now have a new role and a new task. They were the first Albanians appointed directors (after 10 Albanian directors had been fired in the past five years) of mixed-ownership banks—"Gama" with mixed capital of Albanian private businessmen and the Belgrade Commercial Bank (Jusuf Zejnullahu) and "Montenegro" with mixed Albanian-Montenegrin capital (Remzi Kolgeci). At a time when the autonomy of Kosovo has been completely destroyed and when Sosevic sends a message to the Albanians that they must "forget about behaving as a nation and learn to behave like a national minority," they have appeared as strongest Serbian "trump cards," where else but in the field of banking, trying to help the state collect foreign currency from the Albanians.

"Ministers and Soldiers" on Trial

With regard to this, the rumor in Kosovo is that they are collaborators, as it is not very likely that they are mediating over cooperation between Albanians and Serbs or that these are the first steps toward the reestablishment of Kosovo's autonomy, as they hope that it seems.

Drawing attention to such games cannot overshadow the increasing repression and the attempts by the authorities to round up the scenario, with ethnic cleansing as its ultimate goal, through staged political trials and draconian sentences, but also with the help of judicial and repressive bodies to thwart all resistance to Serbianizing Kosovo. After 14 Albanians characterized as "the defense ministry of Kosovo" had been sentenced to a total of 60 years in prison, their "soldiers" were also put on trial.

Another political trial is under way in the district court in Pristina. Seven Albanians have been accused of undergoing special training in Albania, in Lac and Lubinat near Elbasan, to carry out terrorist raids in Kosovo, under orders from the government of the republic of Kosovo! The defense council protested about the abuse during the pre-trial investigation, explaining that those were refugee camps for young Albanians fleeing from the war raging in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and that the young men had been transported to Kosovo via Albania in 1990. Fehmi Lestrani, who was accused first, studied in Albania and pleaded not guilty on all counts. He said that the pre-trial investigation was just like "the time of the Inquisition."

As in all other previous trials, the judge will most probably read the charges as a verdict, and fulfill his "patriotic" duty to pass harsh sentences on those young men to complete the farce about the "defense ministry," regardless of what happens during the trial.

Mika Tripalo's interview in the Albanian weekly ZERA has attracted the attention of the Kosovar public, in which he stated that he "did not agree with Tudjman" with regard to the problem of Kosovo, i.e. that "Kosovo is not Knin." Furthermore, he said the solution lies in an agreement between Kosovo and Serbia.

[Box, p 8]

Police Beat Up a Journalist

Pristina—On Monday, the Serbian police brutally beat up Shefki Popov of Vucitam, a senior correspondent of BUJKI, a daily newspaper written in Albanian, in front of his family. Since they found no weapons, the police examined his writing for the Albanian press and ordered him to report to a police station later on. On Sunday, the police also searched the home of BUJKU's journalist Zecir Bekoll, while Luka Musoli, senior journalist for Radio Pristina, currently a correspondent for Radio Tirana in Pristina, was brought in for questioning three times running.

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